EARLY CISTERCIAN POLYPHONY: A NEWLY-DISCOVERED SOURCE *

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I. A two-part hymn in Arouca

The Monastery of St. Peter of Arouca, now a private museum run by a local association, is situated in northern Portugal, south-east of Oporto. It was founded before 951, most probably between the end of the ninth century and 925. During the first two centuries of its existence, it welcomed both men and women; some time before 1154, it became an exclusively female convent. [1] Benedictine rule was adopted around 1090. [2] The

* This study, begun in 1992, completed in 1996 for the Robert Snow Festschrift and returned to the author in 2001 due to unfortunate editorial circumstances, could not have been concluded without the help of many colleagues who located bibliography, mailed photocopies or offered advice. Working far from a research library, a significant number of both primary and secondary sources could not be consulted in spite of this help. As a consequence, I sometimes had to rely on readily available scholarship and current anthologies more than I would have preferred; and could not improve the footnotes beyond their present, sometimes defective state. All the remaining faults are my sole responsibility. I wish to thank in particular Max Lütolf, Robert Snow, David Hiley, Agostino Ziino, Bernardette Nelson, Gabriela Cruz, Dag Norberg, Aires Nascimento, and Ribeiro Guerra for their assistance and unfailing support, especially during the initial stages of the research; and acknowledge my debt to Maurice Boaz and Ivan Moody in reaching an acceptable English text.

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[1] Historical information about the Arouca Monastery is often contradictory and uneven in its quality. The information presented here is based on the valuable documentary studies by A. de Almeida Fernandes, *Arouca na Idade Média pré-Nacional* (Aveiro: Separata dos Vols. XXX/XXXI do Arquivo do Distrito de Aveiro, 1965), pp. 121-31, 137, and Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *O mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao século XIII* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1977), pp. 23, 49-53.

monastery was a private foundation and remained in private hands until the middle of the thirteenth century. [3] Royal patronage allowed Princess D. Mafalda to receive the monastery from her father D. Sancho I at his death (1211). In 1216, her marriage with Henry I of Castile having been declared null by the pope, the young Queen D. Mafalda chose to live in the Arouca Monastery. [4] In 1224-25, under Abbess Dórdia, the Monastery adopted Cistercian usage. [5] Queen D. Mafalda never took the Cistercian habit, but her exemplary life and the discovery, in the seventeenth-century, of her incorrupt body led to her beatification in the following century.

The *Museu de Arte Sacra de Arouca* holds an important group of medieval liturgical manuscripts of Cistercian origin. Among them, four volumes comprising two complete antiphoners – one of them from the late twelfth century, the remaining from the early thirteenth – merit our attention. [6] The fact that the two sides of a monastic choir required two

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[2] José Mattoso, "Arouca (S. Pedro de)," *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura Verbo* (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1964), 2: col. 1214. Coelho, *O mosteiro*, p. 57.

[3] The patrons of the monastery were at first local gentry; only after Elvira Anes (patron and abbess between 1154 and 1203), did the Portuguese Crown assume the role of benefactor and protector: cf. Coelho, *O mosteiro*, pp. 34-39, 60ff.

[4] "Mafalda, D.," *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* (Lisbon/Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Enciclopédia, n.d.), 15: 870-74. The exact year of D. Mafalda's return from Castile is not known. A document written by Princess Mafalda's notary, signed in Arouca in 1218, is found in Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (hereafter A.N.T.T.), Convento de Arouca, Gaveta 4, maço 4, nº 26: transcription in Coelho, *O mosteiro*, doc. 218, p. 352. D. Mafalda went to live in Arouca as its patroness and benefactor, not as a nun. She kept all her properties and privileges until her death (1256), and continued to use the title of Queen. Her will was printed in António Caetano de Sousa, *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Oficina Sylviana da Academia Real, 1739), 1: 31ff. See also Dom Maur Cocheril, *Routier des Abbayes Cisterciennes du Portugal*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Fondation C. Gulbenkian, 1986), p. 163.

[5] This reform was approved by the bishop of Lamego in 1224 and confirmed by the pope, at the bishop's request, in 1225; such confirmation was needed to circumvent the Cistercian decision, taken in 1220 and reaffirmed in 1225 and 1228, to stop further incorporation of nunneries (Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians – Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977), p. 352). The relevant documents are transcribed in Coelho, *O mosteiro*, pp. 368 ff. The year of 1226 is erroneously attributed to the papal document by Coelho. Between 1226 and 1238-1243, the abbess was Maria Lourenço, and between 1238-1244 to 1279, Maior Martins: Coelho, *O mosteiro*, pp. 46f.

[6] Summary descriptions, not always accurate, of the Arouca antiphoners can be found in Jean Leclercq, "Les manuscrits cisterciens du Portugal," *Analecta sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* VI (1950), 131-39; Solange Corbin, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au moyen âge* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952), p. 165; Andrew Hughes, "Medieval

antiphoners, and that no other antiphoners are known to have been used in Arouca, suggests that they have been in Arouca since 1225; internal evidence points to the same conclusion. [7] The present paper will focus on a single bifolio included in one of the oldest volumes.

The antiphoner volume (Sanctorale) 2* (new call number: MS 25) was written, except for some additions, at the end of the twelfth-century, most probably in the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça. [8] The volume was newly bound in 1483; a loose bifolio, written on the inside pages, now occupies folios 2 and 3. On f. 2v, two hymns to St. Bernard were entered in the first half of the thirteenth century, most probably around the time of Arouca's adoption of Cistercian usage. [9] The hymn on top, "Exultat celi curia," is set for two voices, written one above the other. It is the earliest

Liturgical Books at Arouca, Braga, Évora, Lisbon and Porto: Some Provisional Inventories," *Traditio* XXXI (1975), 369-84; Cocheril, *Routier*, p. 181; António Nogueira Gonçalves, "Livros litúrgicos [do Mosteiro de Arouca]," *Inventário Artístico de Portugal, Vol. II – Distrito de Aveiro, Zona de Noroeste*, (Lisbon: Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes, 1991), pp. 59-62.

[7] A study of early Cistercian notated manuscripts in the Portuguese archives was begun by the present author in 1990. This topic will be developed in my paper "Antifonários cistercienses em Portugal: contribuição ao seu estudo" (in preparation).

[8] The most recent and extensive contribution to the study of Arouca's oldest antiphoners is a long article by Wesley David Jordan, "An Introductory Description and Commentary Concerning the Identification of Four Twelfth Century Musico-Liturgical Manuscripts from the Cistercian Monastery of Las Huelgas, Burgos," *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* II (1992), 57-146. Jordan's central claim – that four late twelfth-century Cistercian manuscripts now in Arouca (two antiphoner volumes), Lisbon's Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (a gradual once in Lorvão) and Las Huelgas (a volume from an antiphoner) were written in Las Huelgas by monks from Cîteaux – does not stand up to close scrutiny. There were no monks from Cîteaux in Las Huelgas. Art historians agree that the antiphoner in Las Huelgas was imported from abroad. Its artistic relationship with the Alcobaça manuscripts and its Clairvaux-modelled notational features points to Alcobaça as the probable origin. The presence of a Portuguese antiphoner in Las Huelgas is easily explainable if one takes into account that the Portuguese Princess Dona Branca was the patroness, first of Lorvão and, from 1294 onwards, of Las Huelgas, where she lived more than 25 years and where she was buried. The antiphoner was first described and discussed in Maur Cocheril, "L'antiphonaire de Las Huelgas," *Cîteaux – Commentarii cistercienses* XVII (1961), 156-65.

[9] This dating takes into account the early style of the decorated initials and the characteristics of the script. The closer dated examples that I could find for this kind of script are from 1210 (A.N.T.T., Sé de Viseu, mç 6, no. 6) and 1226 (A.N.T.T., Arouca, Gav. 3, mç 1, no. 66). A date around 1220 would perfectly fit the evidence, but I prefer to allow a wider chronological margin.

example of written polyphony found so far in Portugal; it is roughly contemporary with the oldest examples of Cistercian polyphony entered in the gradual Oxford, Bodleian Library, lat. liturg. d.5. [10]

Plate 1. Mosteiro de Arouca, MS 25, f. 2v. By permission of the Museu de Arte Sacra de Arouca.

Example 1. Mosteiro de Arouca, MS 25, f. 2v. Diplomatic Transcription [11]

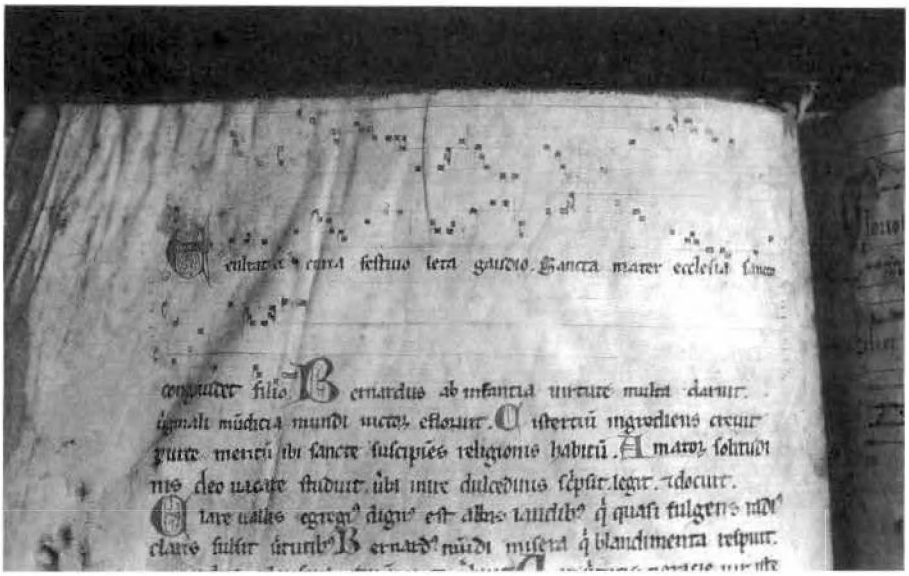
Example 2. Mosteiro de Arouca, MS 25, f. 2v. Interpretative Transcription

The two-part hymn is presented here in facsimile (Plate 1) and in diplomatic transcription, made from the original with the help of magnifying lenses and checked against it again afterwards (Example 1). An interpretative translation into modern musical notation then follows (Example 2).

Trying to read the original neumes directly from the facsimile is a risky and, in the end, unrewarding task, since the original is badly wrinkled and faded on the upper left corner. The folio's upper margin was cut away, presumably during the binding process. The music was written in square notation on tetragrams. On the first system, the lines in the upper tetragram are spaced 6 mm apart, and in the lower tetragram, 5 mm.; there are 7 mm. between the tetragrams. On the second system, the lines are spaced 4 mm. apart in each tetragram, and there are 5 mm. between them. Some signs look as though they were either the result of after-thoughts

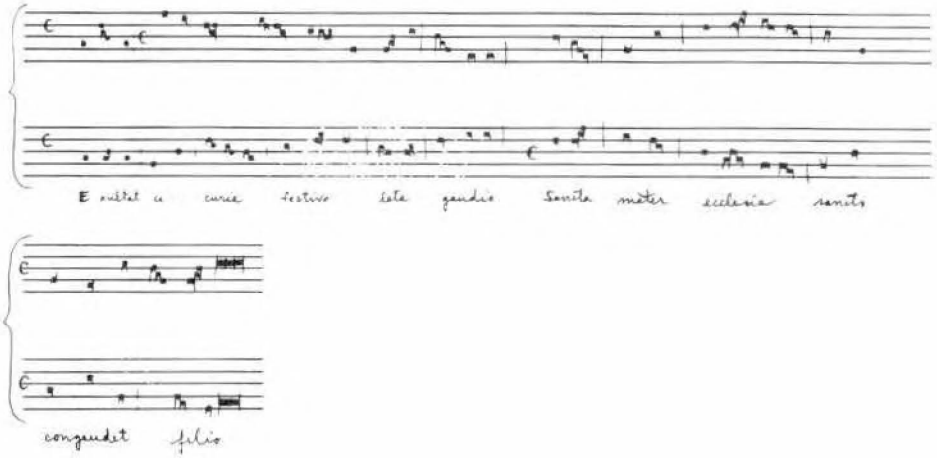
[10] Falconer Madan and Herbert Henry Edward Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 6: no. 32556, pp. 166f. Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th – Early 14th Century* [Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B/IV/1] (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1966) pp. 539f. The earliest examples are *Nicholai sollempnia* (f. 104) and *Catholicorum concio* (f. 106); the latter piece, although based on presumably earlier material, was copied after *Nicholai sollempnia*. The inclusion of these pieces in the manuscript can be dated in the first half of the thirteenth century. A copyist working before 1230 would be a good guess, but the presence of the trope *Virginei floris nomen*, for St. Catherine, on f. 104v implies a date after 1207.

[11] In the musical examples word division and punctuation are either in the MS or those of the author.

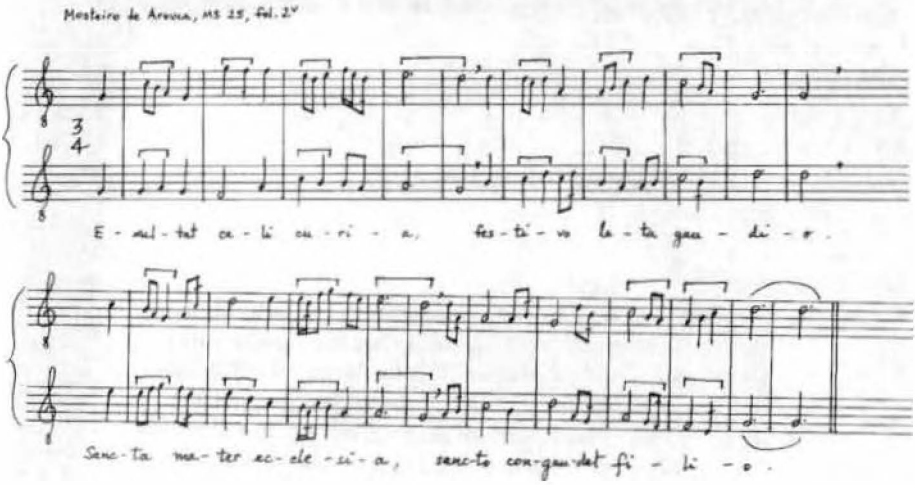


PLATE/ESTAMPA

EXAMPLE 1



EXAMPLE 2



(the clivis with a punctum on top) or the work of an insecure hand, which suggests that the writer was not a professional music copyist and may have composed, recorded in writing or edited the music himself. The lack of concordances in other codices lends additional weight to this hypothesis. The hymn has, as far as I can find, no known concordances, either textual or musical. The textual incipit is almost identical with the first line of a number of other hymnic poems ("Exultet celi curia"), [12] but neither of them coincides thereafter with Arouca. Here is the complete text, in a semi-paleographical edition: [13]

Exultat cel[i] curia
festivo leta gaudio.
Sancta mater ecclesia
sancto congaudet filio.

Bernardus ab infantia
virtute multa claruit.

[12] Cf. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, Clemens Blume and Guido Maria Dreves, eds. (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1911), 11: 249; 12: 84; 13: 105; 16: 202; 19: 65, 160, 254.

[13] I wish to acknowledge my debt to Aires Nascimento and Dag Norberg in editing the text. The original spelling is maintained. I use italics for expanded abbreviations, [ ] for implicit invisible letters, and < > for hypothetical reconstruction.

V*ir*ginali mu*n*dicia
mundi victor efloruit.

Cisterciu*m* ingrediens
crevit p*er* vite meritu*m*
ibi sancte suscipie*n*s
religionis habitu*m*.

Amator solitudinis
deo vacare studuit.
V*er*ba mire dulcedinis
scr*i*psit, legit, *et* docuit.

Clarevallis egregi*us*
dign*us* est abbas laudib*us*
q*ui* quasi fulgens radi*us*
claris fulsit v*ir*tutib*us*.

Bernard*us* mu*n*di misera
q*ui* blandimenta respuit,
ut nardus odorifera
odore*m* vite p*re*buit.

Vir v*ir*tutis *et* gracie
vir iste sanct*us* extitit
<in via> q*ui* malicie
constant*er* hostis obstitit.

Hui*us* mira simplicitas
multaq*ue* patie*n*tia
magna fuit et caritas
et alia sapie*n*tia.

In laudem sancte v*ir*ginis
Marie libros edidit.
D*e*i matre*m* et hominis
laudis exe*m*plar tradidit.

Regi regu*m* sit gloria
nu*n*c *et* p*er* om*n*e seculu*m*
q*ui* ia*m* in aula regia,
suu*m* suscepit famulu*m*.
Amen. [14]

[14] "The court of heaven exults, joyous with festive glee. Holy Mother Church delights in her sacred son. // From his childhood, Bernard was renowned for great virtue; in virginal luster blossomed the conquerer of the world. // Entering the Cistercian order,

The larger, densely decorated "C" initial of *Clarevallis egregi*us may mark a conventional division between the four initial stanzas and the remaining six, although both from a literary and a mathematical point of view a symmetrical division is preferable. Immediately after the *Amen*, a rubric states: "Iste est d*e* ordine *et* debet dici ad n*o*cturnos *et* ad l*audi*b*us*." This probably refers to the monodic hymn that comes next, "Bernardus doctor inclitus," meaning that it is a regular liturgical item and should be sung at matins (the first part) and lauds (the remaining one). "Bernardus doctor inclitus" is in fact a standard Cistercian text, although the melody in Arouca does not coincide with that found in other Cistercian antiphoners. [15] Given that the earliest sources are no earlier than the thirteenth-century, [16] the Arouca antiphoner can be counted as one of its first witnesses.

Facing the two hymns to St. Bernard, we find on folio 3r three additional entries, each written by a different copyist. The first copyist wrote the (often melismatic) music for the responsory text "Gloriosus dei amicus / Felici comercio pro terrenis celestia pro perituris eterna commutans," followed by the *Gloria Patri*. The second and third hands are from the second half of the thirteenth-century or later; they wrote therefore at a time when the bifolio was presumably in Arouca. The second copyist notated the music for the first stanza of the Dominican hymn "[Ae]terne regi glorie." [17] Finally, the third copyist, who signs as *frat*er *Gondisalv*us, wrote in full the text and music of a hitherto unknown hymn, "Confessor

he rose through a worthy life, there sacredly taking up the cloth of religion. // Lover of solitude, he was eager to serve God, and words of sweetness he wondrously wrote, read and taught. // Outstanding in Clairvaux, he earned the abbot's praise; almost like a shining ray, he shone for virtue far and wide. // Bernard, who scorned the lures of the wretched world, like fragant nard offered life perfume. // A man of virtue and grace, that sacred man excelled, who, in the way of wickedness, stood steadfast against the foe. // Wondrous was his simplicity and great his perseverance; and enormous was his charity and also his wisdom. // He gave us books in praise of the Virgin. He held up to us, as a paradigm of Praise, the Mother of God and Man. // Glory be to the King of Kings now and for everlasting, Who already in the Kingly hall has lifted His son up in His arms. // Amen." (translation kindly provided by Maurice Boaz).

[15] Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Iluminados 115, and Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Livro de Coro 158, have a melody starting F GA AG AB AG, while Arouca's incipit is GGF AG GA B C.

[16] Blume and Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, 52: no. 136, 131ff.

[17] Ibid., 52: no. 12, 13f.

almus claruit," whose second part starts with the well-known distich "Exultat celum laudibus/Resultet terra gaudiis" [18] but seems otherwise to be unique.

The presence of *frater* Gonçalo in Arouca should not surprise us. The fact that S. Pedro de Arouca was, by the thirteenth-century, a nunnery, does not imply that its personnel was exclusively female. In every Cistercian nunnery priestly assistance was of course needed; therefore a confessor, chosen among Cistercian brothers, had to be provided by the Order. A chaplain appointed by the abbess said the daily mass (chaplains did not have to belong to the Order). A procurator, called *prior*, was also appointed by the abbess. Outside workers and lay-brothers, associated laymen, and servants were also needed to allow the strict enclosure required by the Cistercian General Chapter. [19]

In the Iberian peninsula, Cistercian nunneries under direct royal patronage such as Lorvão in Portugal (ruled by a sister to Queen Mafalda) or Las Huelgas in Castile had a tradition of independence that is likely to have been followed in Queen Mafalda's monastery, in spite of its later incorporation into the Cistercian Order. [20] Arouca had always been private

[18] On the basis of the indices of each individual volume of *Analecta hymnica*, there are at least eleven hymns starting with this dystich; the first line occurs in thirteen more.

[19] From 1213 onwards the Cistercians, having accepted to assume formal jurisdiction over nunneries wishing to join the order, required from them and tried to enforce full enclosure and the strictest observance of liturgical discipline. But due to the shortage of available monks in the thirteenth century, the father-abbot of a nunnery often provided it with clerics and priests who were not regular members of the Order – personnel who, after having been trained as novices in Cistercian liturgy and spirituality, made their vows in the convent in the presence of the abbess and promised obedience to her. The lay-brothers required by nunneries were not even recruited by the Order. Cf. Catherine E. Boyd, *A Cistercian Nunnery in Mediaeval Italy – The Story of Rifreddo in Saluzzo, 1220-1300* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943), pp. 72-94. Lekai, *The Cistercians*, p. 352. Dominique Mouret, " *Cahiers de Fanjeaux, no. 21. Les Cisterciens de Languedoc (XIIIe – XIVe s.)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1986), pp. 287-310. J.-B. Lefèvre, "Histoire et institutions des abbayes cisterciennes (XIIe-XVIIe siècle), *Revue Bénédictine* C (1990), 137-44.

[20] About Lorvão, see Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, "Inocêncio III e a passagem do mosteiro de Lorvão para a Ordem de Cister," *Revista Portuguesa de História* XVIII (1980), 231-83, and Teresa M. S. de Castello Branco, "Estudos sobre Lorvão – I: As abadessas medievais de Lorvão," (Lisbon: Separata das *Actas do 17° Congresso Internacional das Ciências Genealógica e Heráldica (1986)*, 1990). About Las Huelgas, see Elizabeth Connor, "The Royal Abbey of Las Huelgas and the Jurisdiction of its Abbesses," *Cistercian Studies* XXIII (1988), 128-55, and José Manuel Lizoain and Juan

property, and Queen Mafalda did not give it away; she just saw that it adopted Cistercian usage. After 1220, the Cistercians did not wish to extend their jurisdiction over additional nunneries; [21] an arrangement with a rich royal patron would not entail direct responsibilities to them and would secure the monastery the resources needed to support enclosure. The order would expect only that the nuns would be advised and instructed by one or two abbotts from nearby monasteries, on the basis of the approved usage and books. [22] It is therefore not surprising that there is no trace, in Arouca, of intervention by an outside authority. Queen Mafalda, besides her role of patroness and benefactor, seems to have taken over most of the duties that normally would be entrusted to a father-Abbot: economic administration, spiritual guidance, choice of confessor, approval or deposition of the abbess and settling of internal conflicts. This would have been just what, from experience, the nuns in Arouca expected from a patron. [23]

The adoption of Cistercian usage nevertheless implied books, instruction, and advice from Cistercian monks. The nearest Cistercian monastery was S. João de Tarouca, which was, with Alcobaça, one of the most important Portuguese convents. The Arouca documents, however, never mention Tarouca. Queen Mafalda's will contemplates instead Salzedas, near Lamego, and Alcobaça, to the south. This calls for an explanation. Queen Mafalda had been brought up by D. Urraca Viegas de Tuias, an important lady from the Lamego area who was associated with the Salzedas monastery and was buried there; she treated Mafalda as a daughter and left her a large part of her territorial possessions. [24] Queen

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José García, *El monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos – Historia de un señorio cisterciense burgalés (siglos XII y XIII)* (Burgos: Ed. G. Garrido, 1988).

[21] Lekai, *The Cistercians*, p. 352.

[22] This was exactly what happened in Las Huelgas: José Manuel Lizoain Garrido, ed., *Documentación del Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos (1116-1230)* (Burgos: Ed. G. Garrido, 1985), Doc. 16 (1187), p. 31: "... concedimus ut vobis liceat unum vel duos de religiosoribus et discretioribus vicinis coabbatibus nostris ad vos convocare, qui, scilicet, visitent vos et consulentur, instruent vos et consulant vobis de observanciis ordinis vestri, secundum quod vobis viderint expedire". The Cistercian Monasteries which seem to have been in close contact with Las Huelgas are those of Valbuena, near Valladolid, and Bugedo, near Burgos (ibid., pp. 34, 37f., 47f., 74f., 77f., 84f.). Both Valbuena and Bugedo were indirectly affiliated to Morimond: cf. Dom Maur Cocheril, "L'implantation des Abbayes cisterciennes dans la Péninsule Ibérique," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* I (1964), 217-81, reproduced, with corrections, in ibid., *Études sur le monachisme en Espagne et au Portugal* (Paris/Lisbon: "Les Belles Lettres"/ Bertrand, 1966), pp. 323-76.

[23] Coelho, *O mosteiro*, pp. 60ff.

[24] "Mafalda (D.). D. Urraca Viegas was a daughter of Egas Moniz, a close companion

Mafalda therefore had personal links to Salzedas. Although this monastery had relatively large resources, [25] it had no daughter-houses and no books are known to have been written there. Alcobaça, on the contrary, was a large and influential community, renowned for its *scriptorium*; [26] it had been favored by Mafalda's father, the King D. Sancho I, [27] and became particularly influential under her brother, King D. Afonso II. [28] In Queen Mafalda's will, we learn that Alcobaça had given her a Bible and owed an important sum to her. Alcobaça is therefore likely to have been helpful in obtaining liturgical books and instruction at Arouca. Salzedas may also have contributed to the reformation of the monastery – in what capacity and to what degree, we do not know. [29]

Specific information about the male personnel at S. Peter of Arouca can be recovered from the surviving archival documents now in Lisbon's Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. [30] These documents confirm that

of D. Afonso I, the first King of Portugal. Queen D. Mafalda was present at D. Urraca Viegas's burial in Salzedas in the early 1230s.

[25] Fernando J. Pereira, "Bens eclesiásticos," *Dicionário de História da Igreja em Portugal*, A. A. Banha de Andrade, ed., (Lisbon: Resistência, 1983), 2: 625.

[26] Aires A. Nascimento, "Alcobaça," *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani, eds. (Lisbon: Caminho, 1993), pp. 32--35.

[27] Pereira, "Bens," 623f. José Mattoso, "Dois séculos de vicissitudes políticas," in José Mattoso, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), 2: 106.

[28] Cocheril, *Études*, p. 244. Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, 4th ed., rev. (Lisbon: Ed. Verbo, 1990), 1: 123.

[29] Dom Maur Cocheril, "Les monastères cisterciens du Nord du Portugal", *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* (1957), 19: 61-76, 163-182, 355-70, gives Alcobaça as Arouca's mother-abbey, but later, beginning with his *Recherches sur l'Ordre de Cîteaux au Portugal* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1960 [offprint from the *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, XXII]), 39n, refrains from such an assumption. In his *Études*, 10-11, he states that "Les abbayes de moniales portugaises [...] étaient presque toutes filles de Clairvaux, contrairement à l'opinion commune qui les plaçait dans la filiation d' Alcobaça." Fr. Fortunato de São Boaventura, *Memorias para a vida da Beata Mafalda, Rainha de Castela e Reformadora do Mosteiro de Arouca* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1814), p. 104, assumes that Arouca was affiliated with Clairvaux; this is inferred from a document dated 1255 concerning the heritage of Maria Lourenço and Sancha Lourenço, in which two "Monachis Claravallensibus" are reported to have been present. It is doubtful that such an inference can be made. Liturgical affiliation was probably, in its origin, not a direct juridical link, but rather a consequence of the fact that all the Portuguese Cistercian monasteries, including Salzedas and Alcobaça, belonged to the Clairvaux family.

[30] Those prior to 1226 have been published in Coelho, *O mosteiro*, Apêndice Documental.

the monastery had a half-dozen permanent chaplains before and after the Cistercian reform. [31] In 1223, before the Cistercian reform, five presbiters were in activity; in 1226, after the reform, four remain, and two new names appear: Egas Pais and Miguel Dias, who are mentioned in documents dated 1224 (Egas Pais only), 1226 and 1230. [32] Pedro Gonçalves is identified either as a monastery chaplain or a chaplain of the queen's household. [33] In fact, Queen D. Mafalda, around 1224, employed at least two private chaplains, Martinho Gonçalves and Pedro Pais, and a friar or monk, Lourenço Garcia; had a private notary, Martinho Peres, and an attendant, Lourenço Gomes. [34] Her will also makes clear that she had personal servants and several slaves. It should be also remarked that some chaplains enjoyed privileges which would be inappropriate to monks; in

[31] Around 1200 we can count as many as nine, possibly because some of them were about to retire. Thus, on the basis of regular mention in the documents of some witnesses and their occasional full identification by name or function, by the turn of the century the chaplains were: Mendes (fl. ca. 1180-1218), Egas (fl. ca. 1187-1215), Fernando (fl. ca. 1187-1203), Pedro Gonçalves (fl. ca. 1187-1230), Martinho Anes (fl. ca. 1187-1249), Afonso (fl. ca. 1189-1203), João (fl. ca. 1191-1249), Paio Gonçalves (fl. ca. 1191-1251) and Gonçalo (fl. ca. 1192-1223). Cf. Coelho, *O mosteiro*, Apêndice, and A.N.T.T., Arouca, Gav. 3, mç 1 and 3; Gav. 4, mç 4. It is not impossible that Martinho Anes, identified as such in 1226 and 1249, could be the Martinus who is a witness between 1172 and 1180. Between 1187 and 1226, there are gaps of only one, two or three years between documents which mention the witness Martinus; the nature of the evidence makes these gaps unavoidable. The witness mentioned as Johannes is probably the chaplain Johanninus, referred to in 1224 and 1226; the diminutive was employed in this period as a sign of familiarity and even longevity (Craig Wright, "Leoninus, Poet and Musician," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXIX (1986), 12f.), and indicates that by 1224-26 Johannes had been in Arouca for some time. Pelagius is probably Paio Gonçalves, to whom the Abbess Maior Martins, in 1251, donated a property on account of the "multa et magna servicia que tu fecisti monasterio" (A.N.T.T., Arouca, Gav. 3, mç 3, no. 39). Petrus probably refers to the chaplain Pedro Gonçalo, although, from ca. 1220 onwards, it could also refer to the queen's chaplain Pedro Pais. I have found references to Pedro Pais in two documents only: A.N.T.T., Arouca, Gav. 3, mç 1, donations by Garcias Sancii (1223) and Petrus Iohannis (1226).

[32] The possible identification of Egas Pais with Egas *presbiter*, who ceases to appear in documents after 1215, is problematic. Besides the documents published in Coelho, *O mosteiro*, Apêndice, see A.N.T.T., Arouca, Gav. 3, mç 1, no. 66 (1226); Gav. 4, mç 4, no. 19 (1230); and Queen Mafalda's testament in Caetano de Sousa, *Provas*, pp. 31ff. Since not all the Arouca documents after 1225 were consulted by the present author, it is possible that Egas Pais and Miguel Dias are mentioned elsewhere.

[33] Coelho, *O mosteiro*, doc. 237, pp. 366f.; A.N.T.T., Gav. 3, mç 1, no. 66.

[34] Coelho, *O mosteiro*; A.N.T.T., Arouca, Gav. 3, mç 1; Gav. 4, mç 4.

1248, two or three chaplains from Arouca were allowed by the pope the privilege of enjoying benefices *in absentia*. [35]

This cursory view of the Arouca documents allows us to see that the Cistercian reform did not imply the replacement of the clerical personnel. The queen's household was apparently untouched. Four of the five monastery chaplains remain after 1224; the one that does not reappear may have retired in the meanwhile or passed away. The two new chaplains may have been Cistercians, but it is not possible to be certain about this. The queen is known to have had close relations with secular clerics and non-Cistercian religious orders, especially the Dominicans. [36] One has to conclude that in D. Mafalda's monastery, Cistercian discipline was compatible with a variety of clerical backgrounds and identities and allowed therefore, a higher degree of outside or local influence on liturgical matters than would otherwise be normal. [37]

II. The Cistercian context

The two-part hymn "Exultat celi curia" appears, therefore, in a very particular context within the Cistercian Order. Yet, the hymn being dedicated to St. Bernard, it cannot be doubted that it is an expression of Cistercian piety. It remains to be seen whether or not this expression was as unique, considering the rarity of Cistercian polyphonic sources, as it appears to be.

Besides the antiphoner in Arouca, I know of only nine Cistercian polyphonic sources earlier than ca. 1400, [38] and five more dated between

[35] A.N.T.T., Arouca, Gav. 1, mç 4, no. 12.

[36] Cf. D. Mafalda's will and Boaventura, *Memorias*, pp. 142ff.

[37] Facing the St. Bernard hymns, we encounter in the Arouca antiphoner a Dominican hymn, "Eterne regi glorie", entered by a later hand. In a thirteenth-century lectionary from Arouca non-Cistercian elements are also found: the *epistola ad Laodicenses* attributed to St. Paul in the Hispanic tradition, and a dramatized Song of Songs, in which different portions of the text are to be said by different *voces*: *vox sinagoge*, *vox ecclesie*, *vox Christi*, etc.: Aires A. Nascimento, "*Osculetur me osculo oris sui*: uma leitura a várias vozes ou dramatização do Livro dos Cantares num manuscrito cisterciense de Arouca," *Literatura Medieval: Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, 2nd. ed. (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1993), 1: 49-55.

[38] 1) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. d.5: Cistercian gradual from Hauterive, near Lausanne, written in the late thirteenth-century; it was bound together with both earlier and later folios which include polyphony. 2) Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas:

ca. 1400 and the sixteenth century. [39] These sources originated in Spain, Switzerland, Germany and Austria. Before 1300 we have two sources only: the Arouca antiphoner and the gradual from Hauterive (Switzerland) now in Oxford. This gradual was bound with two bifolios written in the first half of the thirteenth century, which include the two-part pieces "Nicholai sollempnia" and "Catholicorum concio." A further polyphonic addition with "Ad cantum letitie" and "Ave, virgo virginum" dates from the early fourteenth century. A two-part Kyrie was entered in the early fifteenth century. Four of these five pieces (all except "Ad cantum letitie") were transcribed by Arnold Geering; [40] unfortunately, his transcriptions often misrepresent the original. I have decided therefore to offer here new transcriptions of "Nicholai sollempnia" (Example 3), [41]

Musical codex, ca. 1300-1325, mainly devoted to polyphony. 3) Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. IX 40: a twelfth-century codex with polyphonic additions from the early fourteenth century. 4) Santa Maria de Vallbona, codex no. 1: Evangeliary from the early thirteenth century, with polyphonic addition from the fourteenth century. 5) Colmar, Bibliothèque de la ville, MS. 352: Cistercian psalter from the Abbey of Pairis (Colmar), ca. 1200; polyphonic additions from the fourteenth century. 6) Freibourg, Bibliothèque de la Maigrauge, cod. 4: Cistercian gradual from Hauterive, fourteenth century. 7) Lucerne, Bibliothèque cantonale, P. Mscr. 25 fol.: Cistercian gradual from St. Urban (south of Basel), fourteenth century. 8) Olomouc [=Olmütz], Knihovni stredisko filosoficke fakulty university Palackého, II S6, fourteenth century codex from Altbrünn; includes voice-exchange hymn 9) Zisterzienserstift Heiligenkreuz, Cod. 157. These codices are referred to in Higini Anglès, *El códex musical de Las Huelgas*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1931); Arnold Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus in den Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1952); Bruno Stäblein, *Hymnen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, I (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 532f.; *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien*, Wien: Historiches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1986, 64; and Maricarmen Gómez, "Deux nouveaux fragments polyphoniques antérieurs à l' *Ars Nova* dans un manuscrit du monastère de Santa María de Vallbona," *Aspects de la musique liturgique au Moyen Age*, Christian Meyer, ed. (Paris: Créaphis, 1991), pp. 177-90.

[39] Geering, *Die Organa* ; and Rudolf Flotzinger, "Non-mensural sacred polyphony (*Discantus*) in Medieval Austria," *Le Polifonie Primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, eds. (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 43-61.

[40] Geering, *Die Organa*, Notenbeilagen 1 (Kyrie), p. 84; 7 ("Nicholai sollempnia"), pp. 92f.; 8 ("Catholicorum concio"), pp. 93f.; 10 ("Ave virgo"), pp. 96f. Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, 539, mentions a transcription of "Ad cantum letitie" by Jacques Handschin (Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* III (1928), 64-96, suppl. no. 25); in fact, Handschin transcribed "Ad cantum letitie" from the Cambridge songbook; the Hauterive gradual has a different version.

[41] Black dots (•) represent the first layer, void ones (o) the second. **1)** A second hand erased BCD and added a F-clef and 2 notes. **2)** E may be an error, but the early version

"Catholicorum concio" (Example 4) and "Ave, virgo virginum" (Example 6), [42] and transcribe the manuscript's particular version of "Ad cantum letitie" (Example 5). [43]

Example 3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. d. 5, f. 104r

Example 4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. d. 5, f. 106v

Example 5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. d. 5, f. 123v

Example 6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. d. 5, f. 127v-128

Some pieces in the Oxford MS are clearly not Cistercian in origin or character: "Catholicorum concio" presents a version of an Aquitanian piece; [44] "Ad cantum letitie" is found in a variety of non-Cistercian manuscripts beginning with Cambridge, University Library Ff. i. 17, of ca. 1200, known as the Cambridge songbook; [45] St. Nicholas was a popular saint among contemporary clerics and in the Hauterive area (Lausanne, Freiburg), [46] and had already inspired a few two-part pieces. [47] The Hauterive Gradual also includes, among the additions, several folios with Dominican proses. It is therefore self-evident that this volume stems from a Cistercien *milieu* particularly receptive to outside influence, as is also the case with Arouca.

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had it: the E space, not the F line, was later erased. **3)** The early version has an E instead of F. **4)** MS: BCD as below, and nothing afterwards.

[42] **1)** First time: EE. **2)** Repeat: different note-distribution. **3)** First time: no flat sign. **4)** First time: CCB. **5)** First time: no flat sign. **6)** MS: B. **7)** Repeat: no D.

[43] **1)** Fourth time: G in MS. **2)** Third time: C in MS. **3)** First time: C in MS.

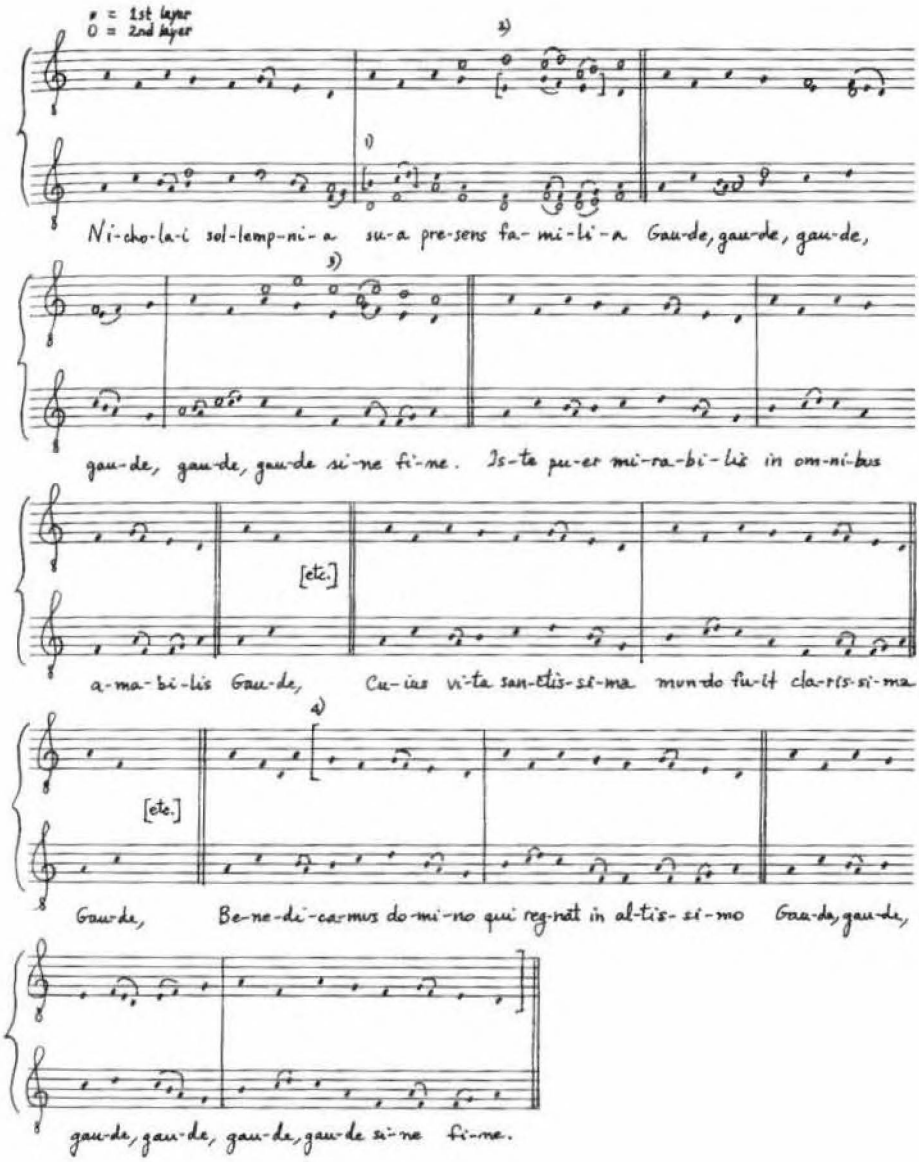
[44] Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 1: 9, 163; 2: 91.

[45] See Bryan Gillingham, *Cambridge, University Library, Ff. i. 17 (1)* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989), for facsimile and transcriptions. On "Ad cantum letitie," see also Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," 93; and John Bergsagel, "The Practice of *Cantus Planus Binatim* in Scandinavia in the 12th to 16th Centuries," *Le Polifonie Primitive in Friuli e in Europa: Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, eds. (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989) pp. 71-75.

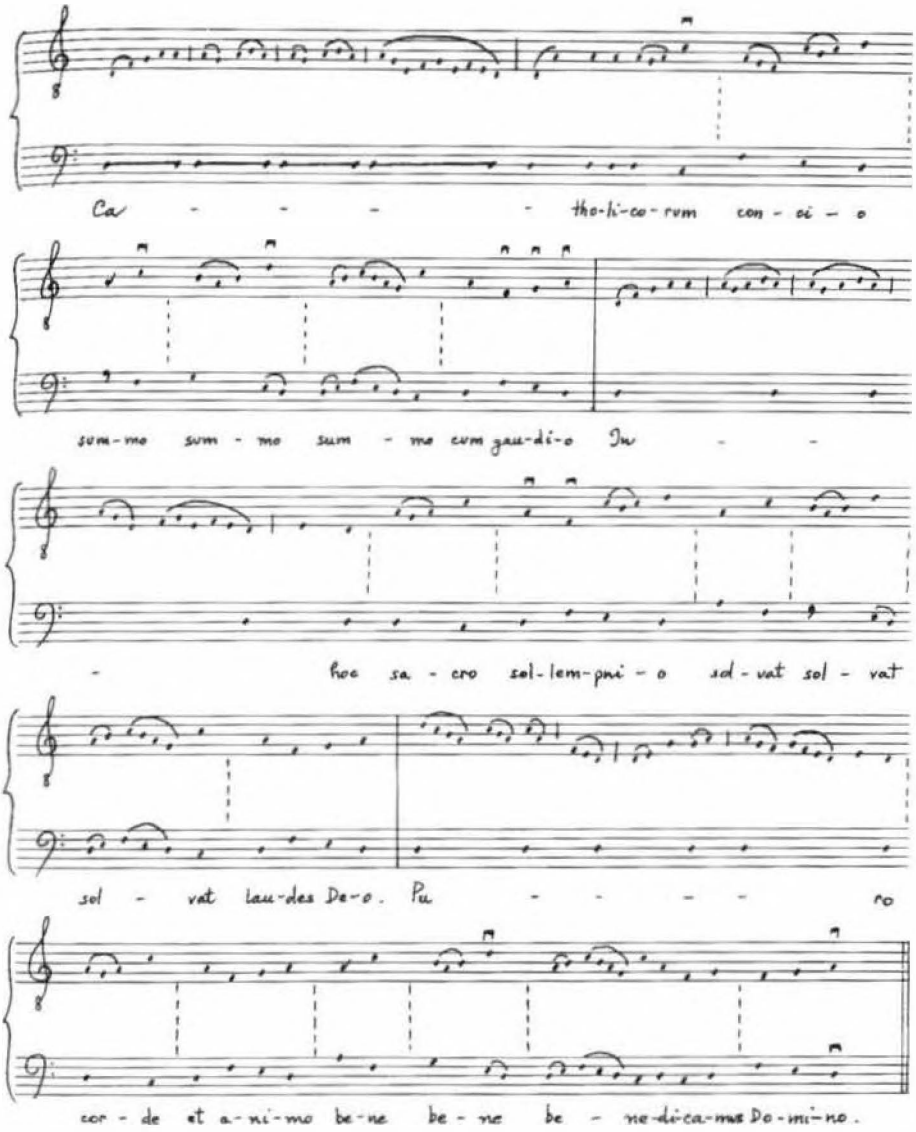
[46] Madan and Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS*, pp. 166f. Hermann Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, 2/1: Kalender der Diöcesen Deutschlands, der Schweiz und Skandinaviens* [with "Heiligen-Verzeichniss"] (Hannover: Hann, 1892), p. 146.

[47] For instance, "Cantu miro" from the Aquitanian repertoire, and "Exultemus et letemur," in the Cambridge songbook.

EXAMPLE 3

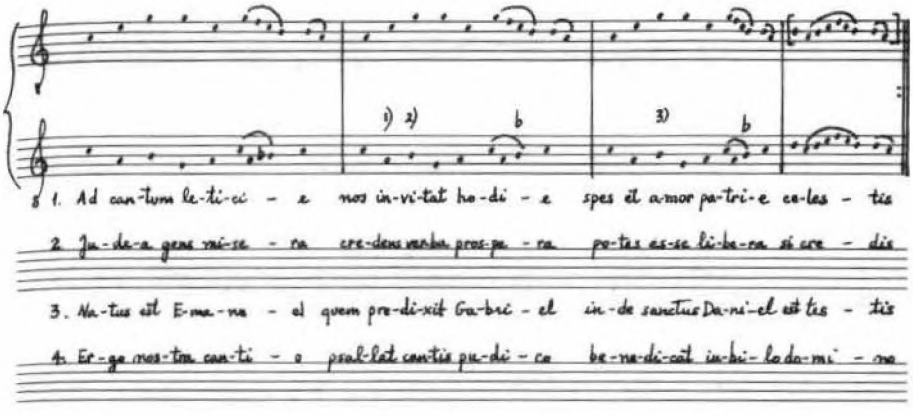

x = 1st layer
0 = 2nd layer
1)
2)
3)
4)
Ni-cho-la-i sol-lemp-ni-a su-a pre-sens fa-mi-li-a Gau-de, gau-de, gau-de,
gau-de, gau-de, gau-de si-ne fi-ne. Is-te pu-er mi-ra-bi-lis in om-ni-bus
[etc.]
a-ma-bi-lis Gau-de, Cu-ius vi-ta san-ctis-si-ma mun-do fu-it cla-ris-si-ma
[etc.]
Gau-de, Be-ne-di-ca-mus do-mi-no qui reg-nat in al-tis-si-mo Gau-de, gau-de,
gau-de, gau-de, gau-de, gau-de si-ne fi-ne.

EXAMPLE 4


Ca - - - - tho-li-co-rum con - ci - o
sum-mo sum - mo sum - mo cum gau-di-o In - -
- hoc sa - cro sol-lem-pni - o sal - vat sol - vat
sol - vat lau-des De-o. Pu - - - - ro
cor - de et a-ni-mo be-ne be - ne be - ne-di-ca-mus Do-mi-no.

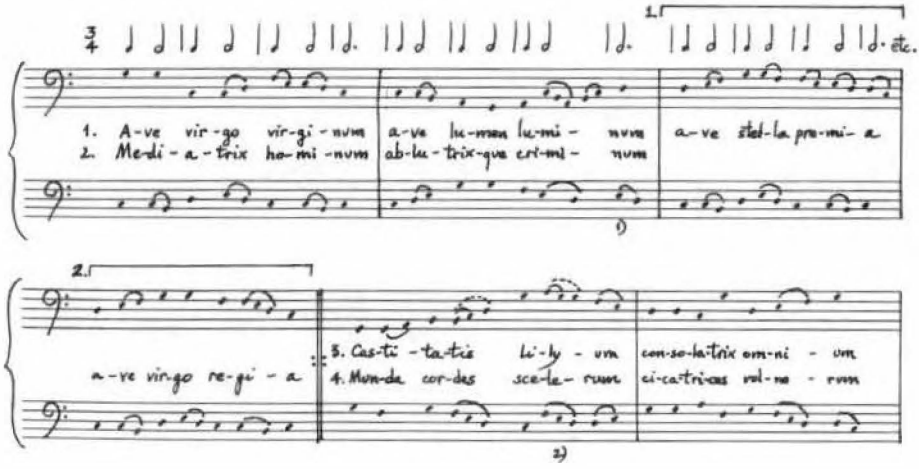
EXAMPLE 5

Oxford, Bodl. Lat. lit. d.5, fol. 123v (Transcription 4)

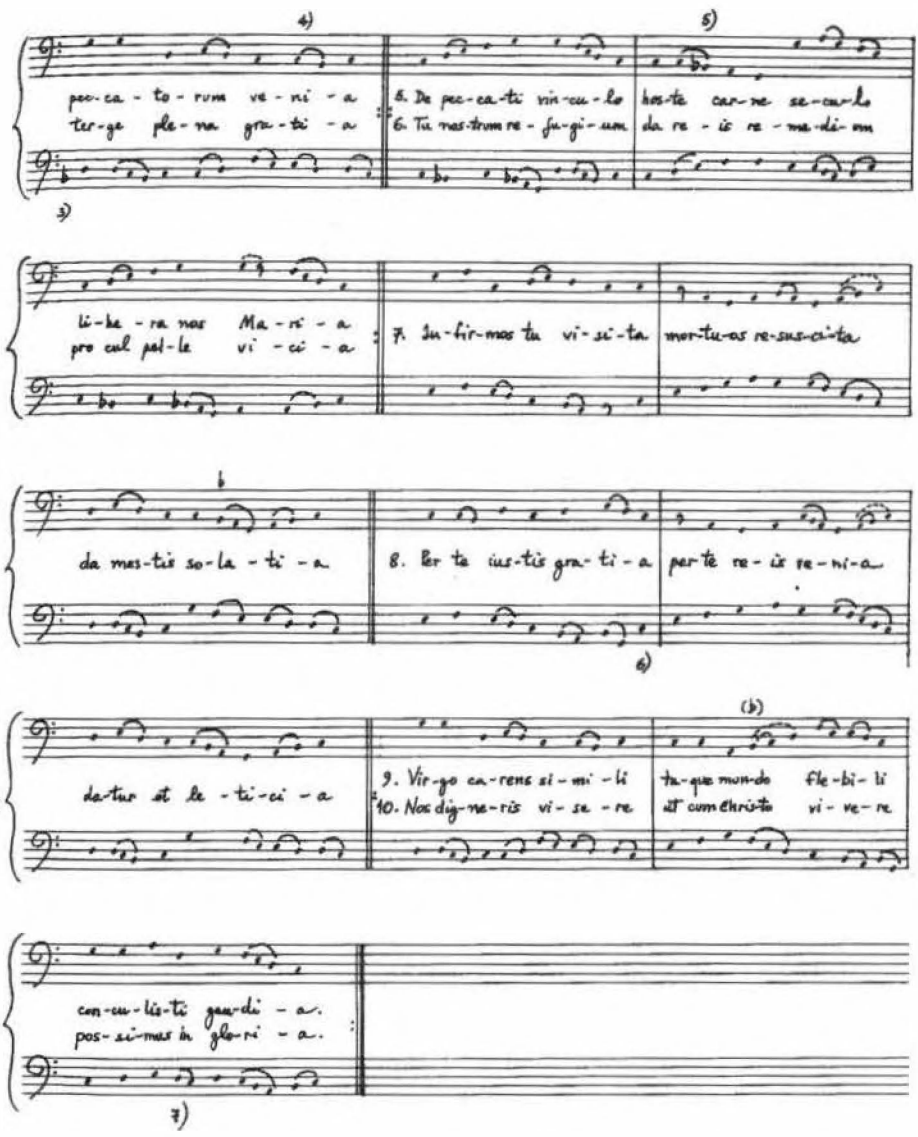


EXAMPLE 6

Oxford, Bodl. Lat. lit. d.5, fol. 123v–124



EXAMPLE 6 (continuação)



Contrary to received opinion, however, the Cistercians were not opposed to austere polyphony. Polyphony was not prohibited by the General Chapter of the order; since two-part organum was, in the twelfth century, a widespread practice, this suggests that it was tolerated among the Cistercians. Some monasteries had an important role in the transmission of John of Afflighem's *De Musica*, which includes a chapter on organum. [48] A brief set of rules on organum is associated in its only source with the Cistercian treatise *Regulae de arte musica*, which suggests Cistercian transmission, if not authorship. [49] In 1217, the General Chapter complained about two English abbeys which were said to sing in three or four parts in the manner of non-monastic churches; [50] the implication is that two-part polyphony was then considered to be a legitimate monastic practice. The next possible official reference to polyphony dates from the early fourteenth century; the introduction of syncopation and hoquet in the chanted office is condemned, but nothing is said of polyphonic practice in general. [51] Between the mid-twelfth century and the early fourteenth,

[48] Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Die handschrift Utrecht NIKK B 113," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, L (1966), 48. Waesberghe assumes that the Cistercians cultivated the simple style referred to by John of Afflighem. It should be remarked, though, that "John's chapter on organum [...] gives little concrete instruction on how to make organum, perhaps because of his sensitivity to diverse practices, perhaps because codification of custom into a coherent set of precepts had yet to be worked out." See Sarah Fuller, "Early Polyphony," *The New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. II: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 523.

[49] Cf. Cecily Sweeney, "The *Regulae Organi Guidonis Abbatis* and 12th Century Organum/Discant Treatises," *Musica Disciplina* XLIII (1989), 7-31.

[50] Josephus-Maria Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Louvain: Revue d' Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1933), 1: 472: "De abbatibus de Dora et Tinterna in quorum abbatiis, ut dicitur, triparti vel quadriparti voce, more saecularium canitur, committitur abbatibus de Neth et de Flesleya, qui ad praedicta loca personaliter accedentes, rei veritate diligenter exquisita, quae viderint emendanda diligenter corrigant et quid inde fecerint, in sequenti Capitulo denuntient."

[51] Canivez, *Statuta*, 3:, 306f., 349. Year 1302: "Ut novitates et notabiles curiositates a nostro Ordine excludantur, ordinat et diffinit Capitulum generale quod in illis quae ad cultum divinum pertinent, quantum ad cantum, modus antiquus totaliter observetur, aliis diffinitionibus super hoc editis penitus abrogatis". Year 1320: "Ridiculosas novitates superinductas in officio divino nolens sustinere de cetero, Capitulum generale ordinat et diffinit quod antiqua forma cantandi a beato patre nostro Bernardo tradita, sincopationibus notarum et etiam hoquetis interdictis in cantu nostro simpliciter quia talia magis dissolutionem quam devotionem sapiant, firmiter teneatur; contra facientes ad praesidentis

a Cistercian music theorist wrote the Lafage Anonymous treatise, which includes a discussion of discant and florid organum. [52] In 1336, a Cistercian monk wrote an important tract on mensural discant. [53]

It could be objected that, if polyphony was not condemned by the order, we should expect the survival of more than a few polyphonic sources. Simple polyphony of the kind tolerated by the Cistercian abbotts was, however, mostly an extempore practice, and did not need to be written down, except when particular pieces or versions thereof captured the Cistercians' attention; or when usual practice in a monastery wishing to sing a two-part piece did not include the singing of polyphony. New music did not enjoy the kind of authority that the Cistercians attributed to their chant books, and therefore, even when a piece was written down, there was no pressing reason to copy it into a book; the chances of survival of loose vellum folios being slight, such pieces are likely to have perished. Early sources of polyphony are then likely to surface only in unusual contexts within the order. It can therefore be suspected that the Hauterive Gradual and the Arouca antiphoner were allowed to be, by the very nature of their respective convents, the tip of the historical iceberg of thirteenth-century Cistercian polyphonic practice.

arbitrium puniantur. Abbates autem et abbatissae hoc statutum faciant inviolabilter observari". A related partial condemnation aimed at novelties is that of Pope John XXII in 1324: see Gustav Fellerer, "La «Constitutio Docta Sanctorum Patrum» di Giovanni XXII e la musica nuova del suo tempo," *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento. 1° Convegno Internazionale* (Certaldo: Centro di Studi, 1962), 9-17.

[52] Albert Seay, "An anonymous treatise from St. Martial," *Annales Musicologiques* V (1957), 7-42. The Cistercian origin of the treatise was established by Sarah Fuller, "An Anonymous Treatise *dictus de Sancto Martiale* – A new Source for Cistercian Music Theory," *Musica Disciplina* XXXI (1977), 5-29. See also Claire Maître, "Étude lexicologique d'un traité dit de Saint Martial," *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), pp. 257-65.

[53] *Compendium de discantu mensurabili compilatum a fratre Petro dicto Palma ociosa*, Johannes Wolf, ed., "Ein Beitrag zur Diskantlehre des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* XV (1913-14), 504-34. See also Claire Maître, "Un traité cistercien d'*Ars nova*," *Aspects*, pp. 281-91, and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Written and improvised polyphony," *Polyphonies de tradition orale. Histoire et traditions vivantes*, Christian Meyer, ed. (Paris: Créaphis, 1994), pp. 171-82.

III. Style

III.1. *A Problematic Piece*

When confronted with the Arouca hymn, a musicologist conversant with Notre-Dame and thirteenth-century Parisian polyphony will very likely rush to point out the copyist's "mistakes." The piece nowhere behaves as, by sheer habit, one expects it to. With a single exception, the fifth is only used to close a phrase, and is never preceded by a third; the octave, of which there are but two, is the contrapuntal goal only once. We should, however, be reminded that the piece was written in a conservative monastic milieu and in a peripheral country where polyphonic practice had not as yet been theoretically systematized.

Reckoning the intervals used in the piece presupposes, of course, decisions about plica-notes and also about vertical alignment in those places where there is not a simple note-against-note counterpoint. I will adhere here to the traditional view regarding ligature-alignment. [54] Even if we make allowance for a few debatable intervals, the exercise is revealing: the sixty-four simultaneities comprise fifteen thirds, thirteen perfect fourths, ten unisons, nine perfect fifths, seven major seconds, six minor sixths, two octaves, one major ninth and one diminished fifth.

The fourth and the third are used both as passing intervals and as isolated or even sustained sonorities in parallel motion. The third (twice) and the fourth (once) are furthermore allowed to begin a phrase. The unison

[54] Richard L. Crocker, "Rhythm in Early Polyphony," *Current Musicology* XLV-XLVII (1990) [*Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*], 154, 163f. Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint-Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 1: 29-58, challenges this view, which requires that, normally, no more than one syllable occur in conjunction with any ligature, and that syllables be enunciated simultaneously in all voices. When a *binaria* occurs in one voice against a *nota simplex* in the other, an alignment of the initial note of the *binaria* with the *nota simplex* is postulated by most musicologists. Karp defends the opposite view, because it produces a more consonant result. The evidence put forward to defend his thesis is scanty and, from my point of view, not altogether convincing for texted passages, even if we disregard the fact that most of the music scrutinized originated outside the Parisian milieu. Karp's command of the sources is, however, impressive, and his thesis is argued at the highest intellectual level. It deserves therefore a fuller discussion than is possible to offer here. Later in this paper, my presentation of the Cistercian discant "Nicholai solemnia" touches on the central issue of consonance and vertical alignment: the evidence of the second layer militates against Karp's hypothesis.

is the starting-point and an important harmonic goal. Its status as a full consonance is often made clear by a dissonant appoggiatura (a major second preceding it); two of the four descending *ternariae* throw it into relief. The fifth is used almost exclusively to mark the end of a section (melodic phrase and poetic line); only once does it appear outside a cadential context. The major second can be either a passing interval or, as is often the case, an appoggiatura for the unison. The minor sixth is allowed to stand on its own, but generally it seems to have been entrusted with a subordinate role; it precedes the third, the fifth or the octave. The octave is a substitute for the unison, as the ninth is a substitute for the second. The diminished fifth is a passing sonority.

In spite of the favored status of unison/octave and fifth, the music does not suggest a sharp distinction between perfect and imperfect consonances as implied in thirteenth-century practice. The octave is almost inexistent, and the fifth is reserved to cadences. The Arouca discant is basically an interplay between thirds and fourths around an unison, an interplay which periodically closes on a fifth.

This situation is not identical to typical practices from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. The style may be explained, however, if it is viewed against a large historical background. This invites the analysis of a representative sample of the extant polyphonic repertoire between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, also taking into account the theoretical evidence, when relevant. For the sake of clarity, I will discuss each of the most problematic simultaneities (major second; minor and major third, and their inversions; perfect fourth) separately and by chronological order, considering both the musical data and the date of the relevant sources. Since, however, there have been slight disagreements over the dating of some manuscripts, these chronological indications are to be taken as approximate. The analytical conclusions concerning the early chronological stages are to be treated with caution, since there are only a few surviving pieces which can be transcribed with confidence. Even in relation to the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries the analysis is only able to point out general stylistic tendencies, since, as Kenneth Levy put it, "each bit of evidence will speak a little differently than the next." [55]

[55] Kenneth Levy, "Italian Duecento Polyphony: Observations on an Umbrian Fragment," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* X (1975), 18.

III. 2. *Excursus: Concords and Discords*

III. 2. 1. *The Status of the Major Second*

The major second is included by Guido of Arezzo in his *Micrologus* among the consonant intervals, although, if the examples are taken into account, he regards it only as a secondary, transitional consonance. Short successions of parallel seconds are allowed; so are the seconds resulting from oblique movement of the voices, or the second used as an appoggiatura to the unison. Sustained parallel movement at the second (or the third) is avoided. [56] The tentative transcriptions of the extensive polyphonic sections of the Winchester Troper (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473) [57] and the pieces formerly in Chartres, Bibliothèque de la ville, MS 109, f. 75, [58] confirm the secondary consonant status of the major second in the eleventh-century.

The second is freely handled in what is possibly the oldest two-voiced *versus* in folios 202 to 205 of Troper Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 909, from St. Martial de Limoges. [59] The polyphonic nature of the set, already suspected by Dreves, was subsequently, and in my opinion wrongly, denied. [60] The major second appears mostly as the result of oblique

[56] Cf. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Guidonis Aretini: Micrologus* [Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 4] (American Institute of Musicology, 1955). See also Fritz Reckow, "Organum, 1-5," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1980), 13: 796-803.

[57] Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim: Georg Holms Verlag, 1968).

[58] Facsimile and transcription: Henry Marriott Bannister, "Un fragment inédit de «discantus»", *Revue Grégorienne* I (1911), 29-33. Transcription and analysis: Dom Anselm Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony," *The New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 2: 282-85. Another transcription: Hendrik van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony* (Rochester, N.Y.: The Author, 1993), 2: 215f. See also a partial transcription and analysis in Reckow, "Organum, 1-5" and David Fenwick Wilson, *Music of the Middle Ages – An Anthology for Performance and Study* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), pp. 51-54. According to my own reckoning, the second occurs between 21 and 25 times, depending on decisions about plicas and vertical alignment. That is, it corresponds to 10% of the total number of intervals.

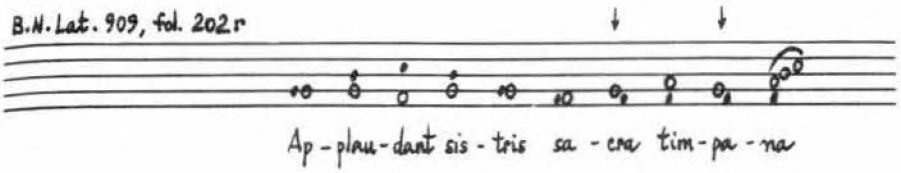
[59] These folios deserve a separate study, which I intend to pursue in the near future. A preliminary report was presented at the 1997 meeting of the International Musicological Society in London.

[60] *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 19: 208. Paul Hooreman, "Saint-Martial de Limoges au temps de l'abbé Odolric (1025-1040)," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* III (1949), 5-36.

movement, voice-crossing, or appoggiatura, but also in contexts where these explanations do not apply (Example 7). The refrain of "Annus novus in gaudio", included in the later Aquitanian MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1139, even goes so far as to allow a second to start a poetic line. But already "Prima mundi," in the same manuscript, uses the second only as an appoggiatura. [61] We can therefore suspect that the major second, around 1100, was beginning to be regarded by some as a dissonance; this attitude gained currency during the twelfth-century. [62]

Example 7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 909, f. 202r

EXAMPLE 7



An extreme case of seconds handled as primary consonances, to begin and end a piece, is found in two musical examples from the twelfth-century manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 9496. [63] An explicit remark by Anonymous IV (ca. 1300) allows us to identify this feature as typical from the Lombard area in northern Italy; in the examples of related archaic Milanese polyphony reported by

[61] Facsimile of "Annus novus" in Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint-Martial*, plates 6-7. Analysis of "Prima mundi" in Sarah Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (Ph. D. diss., University California at Berkeley, 1969), pp. 285-88. Transcriptions in Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2: 90f., 184ff.

[62] Leo Treitler, based on transcriptions that do not incorporate corrections of dissonances, pointed out that "MS 1139 has parts frequently rubbing up against one another and clashing in seconds and sevenths [...] This occurs less often in the later sources, and hardly at all in the British Museum manuscript." Leo Treitler, "The Polyphony of Saint-Martial," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XVII (1964), 39, reprinted in *The Garland Library of the History of Western Music*, Ellen Rosand, ed. (New York: Garland, 1985), 2: 351-64.

[63] Reproduced in Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1957), pp. 29, 57.

Franchino Gaffurio (1496), it can be concluded that the style allows also for parallel seconds near the beginning and the end of a piece. [64] Although apparently particular to the north of Italy, this style was certainly known to the Cistercians, for St. Bernard spent large periods in Milan and was so popular there that the Milanese unsuccessfully tried to have him as a bishop. [65] It should be remembered that the use of seconds and even parallel seconds is found also in European traditional music and in a number of non-European polyphonic traditions; [66] it will be seen below that this phenomenon was probably more current in Europe in the Middle Ages than we are generally willing to admit.

The second as an appoggiatura to the unison is found in a large number of twelfth-century pieces, for instance: "Regi regum glorioso" (Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 603, f. 256r); [67] "Rex immense" from the Codex Calixtinus; [68] "Arce siderea," "Omnis curet" and "Virga Iesse floruit" from the Aquitanian repertoire; [69] and "Regis cuius potentia" from Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. i.17. [70] This can also be seen in Example 8, which presents "Hoc in solemnio," read directly from the Cambridge MS. [71] Ornamental and passing seconds are found, for instance,

[64] F. Alberto Gallo, "Esempli dell' *Organum* dei *Lumbardi* nel XII secolo," *Quadrivium* VIII (1967), 23-26.

[65] Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal, I: Introduction and Commentary* (Trappist, Kentucky: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984), p. 91.

[66] Ernst Ferand, "The «Howling in seconds» of the Lombards: A Contribution to the Early History of Polyphony," *The Musical Quarterly* XXV (1939), 322f. Mauricio Agamennone and Serena Facci, "Il cantare a coppia nella musica tradizionale italiana", and Pavle Merkù, "Polifonia Primitiva nei Canti Popolari Religiosi della Val di Resia," *Le Polifonie Primitive*, pp. 327-48, 349-54.

[67] R. Baralli, "Un frammento inedito di «discantus»," *Rassegna gregoriana* XI (1912), col. 5-10. Also transcribed in Fuller, "Early Polyphony," pp. 521.

[68] A second followed by unison is found over ***im****mense*. The transcription in Rudolf Flotzinger, "Discant (I)," *The New Grove*, 5: 488, has (incorrectly) E-C in the upper voice instead of E-D. Alone among those transcribers whose work was totally or partially available to me (Lütolf, Flotzinger, López-Calo, Helmer, Karp, Van der Werf), Max Lütolf, in his *Die mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze vom ausgehenden 11. bis zur wende des 13. zum 14, Jahrhundert, II: Übertragungen* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1970), p. 36, does not accept in this piece a major second clash over ***pa****tris*.

[69] Transcriptions in Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music* 2: 6-11, 116f., 139-45.

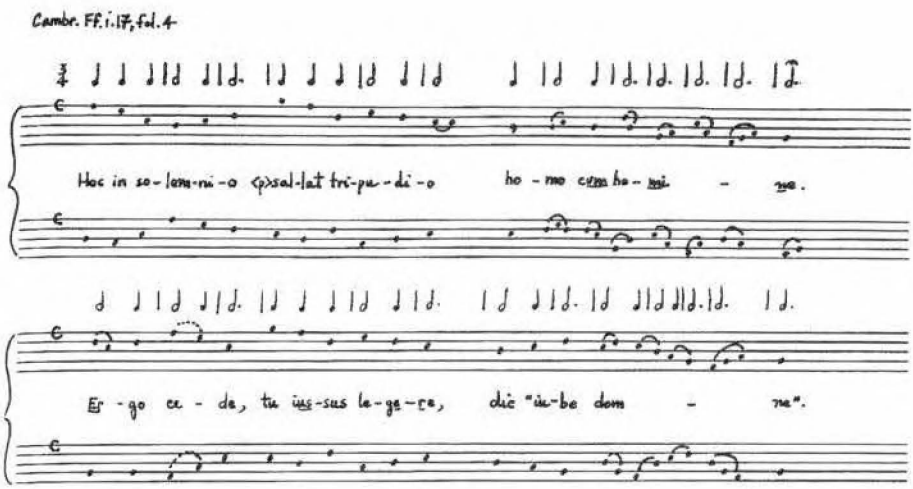
[70] Folio 8v, over ***vic****toria* and ***al****tissimo*.

[71] The available transcriptions, by Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, X/10 (Henryville: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1988), 66f., and Gillingham, *Cambridge*, pp. 94f., are both erroneous. The editors include non-existent

in "Ut tuo propitiatius" (Oxford, Bodleian 572, f. 49v). [72] These findings are in accordance with Johannes de Garlandia's remark that accented dissonance may be employed "for the sake of musical color," as when a tone precedes a perfect consonance. [73]

Example 8. Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i.17, f. 4

EXAMPLE 8



notes (they confuse the upper loop of an h with a liquescence), misunderstand the alignment, and misrepresent the text. It should be also remarked that on *homine*, lower voice, three *pedes* have been written down by a second, contemporary hand; since the primitive version can not be recovered and the passage, as it stands, makes perfect sense, I took the two layers together to represent the piece.

[72] Transcription: Dom Anselm Hughes, "Music in the Twelfth Century," *The New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 2: 308f. Wilson, *Music of the Middle Ages*, p. 50.

[73] Erich Reimer, ed., *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica. Teil I: Quellenuntersuchengen und Edition* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972), Chapter 11, p. 76: "Sed duo puncti sumentur hic pro uno, et aliquando unus eorum ponitur in concordantia propter colorem musicae, sit primus, sit secundus. Et hoc bene permittitur et licentiatur ab auctoribus primis et invenitur in organo in pluribus locis et praecipue in motellis etc." Ibid, p. 74: "Sciendum est, quod omnis discordantia ante perfectam concordantiam sive mediam aequipollet concordantiae mediae, et hoc proprie sumitur ante unisonum vel diapason: <*Exempla*> Ante unisonum tonu. Tonus ante diapason."

While major seconds followed by thirds are common, minor or major seconds resolving into a fifth also occur. Theodore Karp has coined the expression "compression dissonance" to refer to the progression from a minor or major second to a perfect fifth, which he found quite characteristic of the St. Martial and Compostela repertoires both in note-against-note and in more florid textures. [74] The second resolves into a fifth, for instance, in "Noster cetus"/ "Ad superni", from the Aquitanian and Compostela repertoires; "Ave virgo singularis" from the Norman-Sicilian MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 19421 (written ca. 1200); [75] and the Notre-Dame clausula *Tamquam* no. 4 (in which parallel seconds occupy a whole beat). [76] Parallel seconds are exceptional in the twelfth and early thirteenth century; they can also be seen in the Aquitanian "Matur dei salus dei", over ***pa****ris* [77] and the Cistercian discant "Nicholai sollempnia" (Example 3 above), discussed later in this paper.

It should also be remarked that seconds make their appearance in the earliest examples of three-part writing: a previously unreported remake of Guido's example "Miserere mei" (the beginning of which is transcribed as Example 9) in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS 504, written ca. 1100; the colophon "Cormacus scripsit" in an Irish Psalter now in London (British Library, MS Add. 36,929); [78] the conductus "Congaudet catholici", by the Parisian Master Albertus, in the Codex Calixtinus; [79] and "Verbum patris" from the Cambridge songbook. [80]

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[74] Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, p. 184.

[75] For "Noster cetus"/"Ad superni," see transcription in Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2: 12-16. "Ave virgo singularis" was transcribed by Wulf Arlt, "Die mehrstimmigen Sätze der Handschrift Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 19421 (Mad), insbesondere das «Crucifixum in carne»," *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung. Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974*, Hellmut Kuhn and Peter Nitsche, eds. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1980), 27f.; and David Hiley, "The liturgical music of Norman Sicily: a study centred on manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid" (Ph. D. diss., University of London,1981) pp. 833f.

[76] Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29. 1 (*siglum*: F), f. 147v-148r. Transcription in Rebecca Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre-Dame Clausula" (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1974), 2: 25.

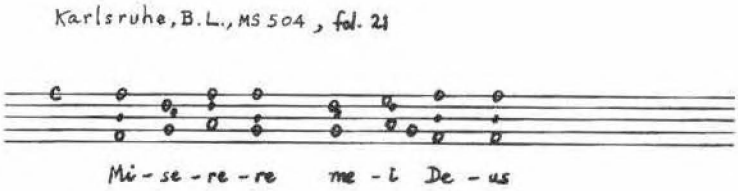
[77] Transcription in Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, pp. 152f.

[78] Frank LL. Harrison, "Polyphony in Medieval Ireland," *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Martin Ruhnke, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), pp. 75-78.

[79] On the correctness of the attribution, see Wright, "Leoninus," 9. I see no reason, either on paleographical or stylistic grounds, to deny a three-voice character to the piece. The third voice was entered by a contemporary hand, according to the precept of successive

Example 9. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS 504, f. 21

EXAMPLE 9



Anselm Hughes's analysis of simultaneities in the Codex Calixtinus gives around 5% of seconds, a percentage which is half that found in the eleventh-century Chartres fragment. [81] Jens Bonderup's reckoning of seconds in note-against-note Aquitanian polyphony gives a still lower number: 2.6%. [82] In spite of the fact that, in the Aquitanian and Compostela repertoires, the second is clearly more frequent than the sixth, [83] these figures confirm that in the twelfth century, the second has lost its earlier consonant status. There are, however, exceptions. The Cambridge MS includes a refrain, "Ore del chanter," in which seconds represent about a third of the intervals formed against a drone. The style is basically identical to that found today in the Val di Resia, Udine, in

composition on the basis of two-part counterpoint. I agree therefore with the conclusion reached by José López-Calo, "La Polifonia del Codex Calixtinus e quella di Saint Martial. Ritmo e Interpretazione," *Le Polifonie Primitive*, pp.195ff. and Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint-Martial*, pp. 131f. See color reproductions in José López-Calo, *La música medieval en Galicia* (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1982), pp. 46, 138, or in the facsimile edition: *Codex Calixtinus de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid: Kaydeda, 1993).

[80] A reliable transcription can be found in Gillingham, *Cambridge*, pp. 88f.

[81] Hughes, "Music in the Twelfth Century", 298f. Hughes gives the figure 4.6%, taking into account both the pieces in the Codex Calixtinus and two Spanish pieces, but then he states that no seconds are found in the latter, which implies that their percentage in the Codex Calixtinus alone is higher than 4.6%.

[82] Jens Bonderup, *The Saint-Martial Polyphony – Texture and Tonality* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1982), p. 82.

[83] Ibid. and Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, pp. 185f.

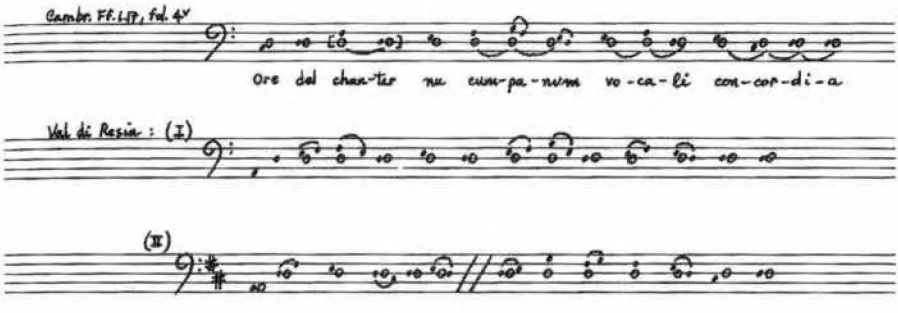
North-East Italy (Example 10). [84] Given the probable French provenance of the Cambridge MS repertory, this identity indicates that in the Middle Ages melodic elaboration around a drone using seconds, thirds and fourths (as an upper limit) was more widespread than its present survival may suggest.

Example 10. Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i.17, f. 4v

Val di Resia (I)

Val di Resia (II)

EXAMPLE 10



In the early thirteenth century, the author of *Discantus positio vulgaris* speaks of the second as the most dissonant among intervals. [85] Later, Johannes de Garlandia classifies the major second as a "middle" dissonance, that is, a more-or-less tolerable discord. [86] Franco speaks of the

[84] Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. i. 17, f. 4v. For ease of comparison, the drone-polyphony from the Val di Resia is presented schematically and in transposition. My two reductions are based on transcriptions presented by Agemennone and Facci, "Il cantare a coppia," 339f. (tr. 10: Canto di nozze "Tavana Ruscina") and Merkù, "Polifonia primitiva," p. 351 ("Ore ti triji krajave", A2).

[85] Charles Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi – Novam Seriem a Gerbertina alteram* (Paris, 1864; reprint Hildesheim: Georg Holms, 1963), 1: 95: "... unde major videtur dissonantia in tono, quam in aliquo alio modo" (for complete passage, see below, note 127).

[86] Erich Reimer, ed., *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica.*, Chapter 9, pp. 71f.: "Discordantiarum quaedam dicuntur perfectae, quaedam imperfectae, quaedam

whole tone as an "imperfect discord," a tolerable dissonance. [87] As a matter of fact, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, conservative musicians or genres continued to allow, in certain contexts, the use of the major second. For instance, Anonymous IV states that "if the penultimate is a whole tone in the *duplum* above the tenor as in *organum purum*, it will be excellently concordant, although a whole tone is not a concord." [88] The major second is used as an appoggiatura in the hymn "Ave maris stella" as found, with a second voice, in the early XIIIth-century manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 186, [89] and in a number of early French motets in the Montpellier Codex. [90] In the conductus "Verbum bonum et suave," [91] several syllabic simultaneities of second are also allowed. In the early motets, major and minor seconds leading to the fifth are relatively frequent. [92] In the fourteenth century, the second is used as an appoggiatura in the trope "Ad honorem marie virginis" (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS VI-37). [93] In Italy, archaic styles survive among

mediae [...] Mediae dicuntur, quando duae voces iunguntur, ita quod partim conveniunt cum perfectis, partim cum imperfectis secundum auditum, et sunt duae species, scilicet tonus et semitonium cum diapente."

[87] Franco de Colonia, *Tratado de canto mensural* [translation and commentary by Angel Medina, with Latin text appended] (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1988), 62, 78: "Imperfecta discordantie dicuntur quando duas voces se quodammodo compati possunt secundum auditum, sed discordant; et tres sunt species, scilicet tonus, tonus cum diapente et semiditonus cum diapente."

[88] Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV – A New Translation* (American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1985), Chapter Five, p. 70. Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4* [Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, IV/V] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), 1: 79 (also in Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, 1: 358): "Et si paenultima fuerit tonus in duplo supra tenorem ut in organo puro, optime erit concordans, quamvis tonus non sit concordantia."

[89] The manuscript is described and the hymn transcribed in Michel Huglo, "Les débuts de la polyphonie à Paris: les premiers *organa* parisiens," *Forum Musicologicum – Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte*, Band 3 (Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus Verlag, 1982), 124-31.

[90] Mathiassen, *The Style of the Early Motet (c. 1200-1250) – An Investigation of the Old Corpus of the Montpellier Manuscript* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1966), p. 189.

[91] A transcription from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 1206 (*siglum*: W2) can be found in Heinrich Husmann, "Medieval Polyphony," *Anthology of Music*, K. G. Fellerer, ed., (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1962), 9: 18.

[92] Mathiassen, *The Style of the Early Motet*, p. 142.

[93] Agostino Ziino, "Polifonia «Primitiva» nella Biblioteca Capitolare di Benevento," *Analecta Musicologica* XV (1975), 1-14.

the Franciscans: seconds are conspicuous, including at the start of a poetic line and in parallel movement, in the invitatory "Regi que fecit opera" in Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, codice no. 1 (written around 1400). [94]

III. 2. 2. *The Status of Thirds and Sixths*

In the examples included in the ninth-century treatises *Musica Enchiriadis* and *Scolica Enchiriadis*, the major second and the major third are the most common, even if transitional, intervals. [95] In the eleventh century, chains of three to four thirds are found in the Chartres fragment, where the third is the prominent interval (28%). [96] Chains of up to twelve parallel thirds are found in the Saint-Martial polyphonic versus copied in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 909; the third is often used to start a phrase. Fourteen thirds in a row are found in the Aquitanian conductus "Senescenti mundano." [97] Sixths were sparingly used in the eleventh century; in the twelfth century, they were adopted together with the thirds as transitional sonorities, but were used less often. Around 1100, the Montpellier tract presents three thirds in a row. [98] But thirds represent already less than 12% of the harmonic intervals in note-against-note texture in the Aquitanian repertoire. [99] They will be more and more regarded as imperfect concords, good only to add variety and prepare unisons and fifths.

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[94] Agostino Ziino, "Polifonia «arcaica» e «retrospectiva» in Italia centrale: nuove testimonianze," *Acta Musicologica* L (1978), 193-207; ibid., "Liturgia e musica francescana nei secoli XIII-XIV," *Francesco d'Assisi – Storia e Arte*, Francesco Porzio, ed. (Milano: Electa, 1982), pp. 137, 155.

[95] Serge Gut, "La notion de consonance chez les théoriciens du moyen âge," *Acta Musicologica* XLVIII (1976), 25.

[96] Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony," p. 284.

[97] Transcription in Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, p. 166. Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 305f., suggests that this parallelism is due to a copying error. I am not of the same opinion.

[98] Gut, "La notion de consonance," 30.

[99] Bonderup, *The Saint Martial Polyphony*, p. 82. Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, Appendix A, gives some more statistics. Typically, in the three Aquitanian MSS analyzed, the interval content of successions of three or more *notae simplices* in both the *vox principalis* and the *vox organalis* includes around 9.5% of thirds. In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 3549, 15% of the simultaneities produced when two or more *notae simplices* are set by an equal number of *binariae* are thirds.

Older practices, possibly rooted in folk traditions, nonetheless survive all over Europe. Anonymous IV states that "among the best composers of organum and for example in certain lands like in England, in the region which is called Westcuntre, [the major third and minor third] are called the best concords, since among such people they are greatly used." [100] An English example from the late twelfth century that includes successive thirds obtained by contrary motion is "Adjuva nos deus." [101] In the thirteenth century, especially in its second half, several other pieces testify to the English fondness of thirds and sixths. [102] The phenomenon is not, however, specifically English. [103] From around 1200, the Catalonian conductus "Cedit frigus hiemale" and the Notre Dame "Salvatoris hodie" also present successive thirds. [104] "Salvatoris Hodie" and "Amborum sacrum," from the Cambridge songbook, use sustained sixths (Example 11). In the thirteenth century, short successions of thirds are found, for instance, in the Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme* entered in Evreux, Bibliothèque Municipale, lat. 17; in the two-voice Credo copied in the early fourteenth century MS Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale Q 11 and the piece "Virgo solamen desolatorum" copied in Assisi, Archivio della Cattedrale, codice no. 5. [105] Five sixths in succession can be found in the English song "Foweles in the frith." [106] But the most striking example of parallelism – a succession of twenty-four thirds in the hymn "Nobilis,

[100] Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV*, p. 69. Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 1: 78 (also in Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, 1: 358): "Tamen apud organistas optimos et prout in quibusdam terris sicut in Anglia in patria, quae dicitur Westcuntre, optimae concordantiae dicuntur, quoniam apud tales magis sunt in usu."

[101] Transcription in Jacques Handschin, "A Monument of English Mediaeval Polyphony," *Musical Times* LXXIV (1933), 702, cited by Serge Gut, *La tierce harmonique dans la musique occidentale – origines et évolution* (Paris: Heugel & Cie, 1969), p. 9.

[102] Ernest H. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XVII (1964), 261-87, reprinted in *The Garland Library*, pp. 267-93. Gut, *La tierce harmonique*, pp. 12-15.

[103] Richard Crocker, "Polyphony in England in the Thirteenth Century," *The New Oxford History of Music*, p. 689.

[104] Higini Anglès, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1935), pp. 256f.; Gut, *La tierce harmonique*, p. 9.

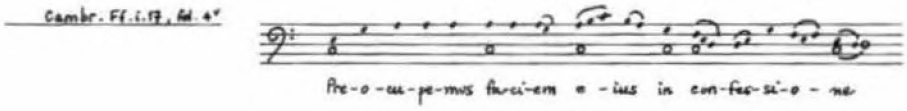
[105] Ziino, "Polifonia «arcaica» e «retrospectiva»," 195. The Gloria trope and the Credo are transcribed in Lütolf, *Die mehrstimmigen*, pp. 209f.

[106] Transcription in Gerald Abraham (General Editor), *The History of Music in Sound, Vol. II: Early Medieval Music up to 1300* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 49.

humilis" – comes from a late thirteenth-century Norwegian MS in Uppsala. [107]

Example 11. Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i.17, f. 4v

EXAMPLE 11



In the theoretical tradition, thirds are admitted at beginnings and middles in the post-Guidonian Berlin B and Montpellier treatises. [108] Later, the third is generally classified as an imperfect concord (in Dahlhaus definition, "an unstable, dependent consonance supported by an adjoining fifth or unison"); [109] or, in the case of the tract *Discantus positio vulgaris* (early thirteenth century) and Marchetus de Padua (early fourteenth century), as a tolerable discord. [110] As Carl Dahlhaus also points out, "in the Middle Ages, the determination of whether thirds and sixths were consonances or dissonances was a problem that did not admit of an unequivocal solution [...] One could either classify thirds as dissonances, though they were permissible as simultaneities, because they did not represent any superparticular numerical proportions; or one could express the euphony of thirds by the word «consonance», but their mathematical imperfection and the lack of autonomy of their sonority by the additional word «imperfect»". [111] Anonymous of St. Emmeram defends the consonant status of the third on the basis of musical practice: the major or minor third often starts, or is found in prominent places in both *organa* and French motets. [112] In the fourteenth century, the transitional character

[107] Bergsagel, "The practice of *Cantus Planus Binatim*," 65-68.

[108] Fuller, "Early Polyphony," 514.

[109] Gut, "La notion de consonance," 22, 28. Carl Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 74.

[110] Gut, "La notion de consonance," 28. Dahlhaus, *Studies*, p. 79.

[111] Dahlhaus, *Studies*, p. 79.

[112] Jeremy Yudkin, ed., *De Musica Mensurata. The Anonymous of St. Emmeram. Complete Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Bloomington and Indianapolis:

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of the third and sixth is reaffirmed by Anonymous XIII, who nevertheless allows their sonority to be extended in parallel motion until it reaches a perfect consonance (fifth or octave). [113] Successions of thirds are also allowed in other treatises. [114]

Sixths were admitted as imperfect consonances already in the Montpellier tract. [115] In the twelfth century, minor sixths are said by Theinred of Dover to be more frequent than major sixths, because of their closer proximity to the consonance. [116] During the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century, minor sixths were often, but not always considered to be more dissonant than the major sixth. [117] This has probably to do with the importance of the, then standard, progression of major sixth to octave (in the twelfth century, the major sixth could occur as a passing sonority within the progression of fifth to octave, but was not integral to it).

III. 2. 3. *The Status of the Perfect Fourth*

Around the year 1000, the fourth is the prevailing organal interval in the Winchester repertoire. In the first half of the eleventh century, the Paris treatise and Guido's *Micrologus* confirm that the perfect fourth was considered to be a primary consonance, and tended to be preferred to the

Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 262: "Quatenus autem ditonus et semiditonus in concordantiarum numero debeant collocari, patet per cantus musicos approbatos in quibus saepius sunt reperti, sicut patet in triplo de *Che sunt amoretes*, *Dex ou prai je trover*, et in multis aliis cantibus tam organis quam motellis, in quibus vel cantus incipiunt vel pausas immediate praeambulas sussecuntur. Per quod patet, quod sunt concordantiae, eo quod a discordantia nonquam cantus aliquis inchoatur, nec post pausationem vel ante locum dicitur optinere."

[113] Dahlhaus, *Studies*, pp. 81ff.

[114] Gut, "La notion de consonance," 30.

[115] Fuller, "Early Polyphony," 514. Gut, "La notion de consonance," 31.

[116] "Hic quidem tamen cum diapente cum semitonio sepius propter consonioris proporcionis maiorem propinquitatem, hic vero cum diapente cum tono rarius minus consone proporcionis minorem propinquitatem" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 842, f. 20, quoted by Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 1: 78n).

[117] For instance, Anonymous I (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, 1: 296-302) considers together the major and minor sixth as imperfect discords, but Anonymous II (ibid., 303-19) gives the major sixth the status of an imperfect consonance. See also Richard L. Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XV (1962), 3-8, reprinted in *The Garland Library*, pp. 29-49.

fifth. [118] In the Chartres fragment, it accounts for 20% of the total number of intervals, while the fifth occurs less than a third as many times. [119] In the two-voice version of the Alleluia "O quam pulchra est" as found in the early twelfth century codex Autun, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 46 (*olim* 40 B), the fourth is the most frequent consonance, closely followed by the octave and the unison; the fifth and the sixth occur just over half as many times. [120] In the two-part "Regi regum glorioso" from Lucca, the fourth is still the most frequent interval, but the fifth comes next, two-thirds as frequent. [121] From the late eleventh century onwards, the fifth is granted an equivalent position to the fourth, [122] and in the twelfth century, the use of the fourth declines drastically: in note-against-note texture in the Aquitanian repertoire, it accounts for a third as many intervals, at most, as the fifth, [123] and tends to be handled as a relatively unstable, secondary consonance; [124] together, the octave and especially the fifth assume the role of structural consonances. This may be related to the fact that parallel movement in fifths (fifthing) was widely adopted, probably as a basic technique for training singers of polyphony, already before the thirteenth century. [125] Occasionally, the fourth manages to play a structural role, [126] but this becomes rarer in the thirteenth century.

The practical demise of the fourth is hardly acknowledged in the theoretical realm before the fourteenth century. To be sure, the fourth is regarded by the Lafage Anonymous as less consonant than the fifth; [127]

[118] Fuller, "Early Polyphony," 494f., 504-8.

[119] Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony," 284.

[120] Transcription in Wilson, *Music of the Middle Ages*, pp. 48f.

[121] For available transcriptions, see note 67.

[122] Cf. Fuller, "Early Polyphony," 523-27.

[123] According to Bonderup, *The Saint Martial Polyphony*, p. 82, the fourth represents only 8.5% of the intervals against 35% for the fifth in note-against-note texture. The comparable figures given by Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, pp. 202f., differ only slightly: in successions of three or more single notes in both voices, the fourth and the fifth represent respectively around 11% and 33% of the total number of intervals. The total percentage of fourths in the twelfth-century Spanish sources analyzed by Hughes, "Music in the Twelfth Century," amounts to 12.5%, against 26% for the fifth.

[124] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 283.

[125] Sarah Fuller, "Discant and the Theory of Fifthing," *Acta Musicologica* L (1978), 241-75.

[126] For instance, in Leonin's discant on *Dominus* partially reproduced by Richard L. Crocker, *A History of Musical Style* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), p. 78.

[127] "Diatessaron reddit dulcem melodiam, diapente dulciorem, diapason dulcissimam" (quoted in Fuller, "An Anonymous Treatise," 16).

and the *Discantus positio vulgaris* treatise includes it in a completely different category, that of the intervals which are rather more dissonant than consonant. [128] The privileged status of the fourth in the Pythagorian tradition, however, due to the perfection of its corresponding proportion (4:3), allows it to be classified together with the fifth as a "middle" (next-to-basic) consonance in the teaching of Johannes de Garlandia and other thirteenth century theorists. [129] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a number of authors classify it as a dissonance. [130] In actual musical practice, the fourth is in fact treated as a dissonance between the lower voices of a worked-out three-part composition; in the second half of the fifteenth century, it is sometimes avoided as a dissonance between any pair of voices. [131]

III. 3. *Conclusion*

In the Arouca hymn, the major second is not quite used as a secondary consonance, as in the eleventh century, nor is it avoided as a just-sufferable dissonance, as it tends to be in the thirteenth. The third seems to retain the position enjoyed throughout the eleventh century, a position which, exceptions notwithstanding, seems to have been reaffirmed only from the fourteenth century onwards. The fourth is not the basic consonance, as in the eleventh century, nor has it clearly fallen into disfavour, as after the mid-twelfth century. The fifth is not just an alternative primary consonance, as in the eleventh century, nor is it central to the compositional process, as afterwards. The octave is not completely non-existent, as in the early eleventh century, nor is it a structural interval, as in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[128] Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, 1: 95: "Inter concordantias autem tres sunt ceteris meliores, scilicet unisonus, diapente et diapason. Ceteri vero modi magis sunt dissonantie quam consonantie; tamen secundum magis et minus, unde major videtur dissonantia in tono, quam in aliquo alio modo".

[129] Reimer, ed., *Johannes de Garlandia*, pp. 67ff.: "Concordantiarum triplex est modus, quia quaedam sunt perfectae, quaedam imperfectae, quaedam mediae [...] Media dicitur esse illa, quando duae voces iunguntur in eodem tempore, quod nec dicitur perfecta vel imperfecta, sed partim convenit cum perfecta et partim cum imperfecta, et duae sunt species, scilicet diapente et diatesseron". See also Anonymous I (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, 1: 296-302) and Anonymous II (ibid., 303-19). Commentaries by Crocker, "Discant," 3; Gut, "La notion de consonance," 22, 27-28; and Dahlhaus, *Studies*, p. 80.

[130] Gut, "La notion de consonance," 22. Dahlhaus, *Studies*, pp. 80, 338.

[131] Charles Warren Fox, "Non-quartal harmony in the Renaissance," *The Musical Quarterly* XXXI (1945), 33-53.

Besides the intervallic structure, the Arouca hymn has other interesting characteristics: the crossing of voices having an equivalent compass; and the use of voice-exchange technique. The technique of exchanging strains between the two voices is found in a number of pieces from the Aquitanian repertoire, including the early "Noster cetus" and "Deus in adiutorium", [132] from where it was introduced in the Calixtinus repertoire ("Ad superni" = "Noster cetus") and twelfth century hymnody ("Jam lucis orto sidere" [133] = "Deus in adiutorium"). Later, the technique reappears in northern France (Notre Dame three or four-part organa, two-part conductus, and, outside Paris, the sequence "Ave, Virgo" in the Rouen gradual), [134] Castile (several "Benedicamus domino" in Las Huelgas) [135] and especially England. [136]

In conclusion, the style of the Arouca discant corresponds to a transitional stage that could be chronologically situated around the first third of the twelfth century, the time when the Cistercian identity became fully established. This style was already about four generations old when the hymn was presumably composed. It is, then, a retrospective style that asks to be understood not in the context of thirteenth-century music, but rather in the context of the Cistercian conservative ideals.

IV. Transcription

IV.1. *Pitch-content*

IV. 1. 1 *Corrections*

We have just concluded that the way the composer of "Exultat celi curia" handles simultaneities mirrors a retrospective aesthetic; this, in my opinion, implies that the hymn should not be corrected on the basis of

[132] See also "Deus quam brevis est" and "Per partum virginis," referred to in Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 264.

[133] Melody 131 in Stäblein, *Hymnen*, pp. 74f., 532-38.

[134] Ernest H. Sanders, "Voice-exchange," *The New Grove*, 20: 65f. Dom Joseph Pothier, "Remarques sur la liturgie, le chant et le drame," *Le Graduel de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen au XIIIe siècle*, (Rouen: J. Lecerf, 1907), 1: Appendix, pp. 207-218 and Plates VIII-IX.

[135] Nicole Sevestre, "De lointains «ancêtres» des *Benedicamus Domino* du manuscrit de Las Huelgas," *Revista de Musicología* XIII (1990), 469-85.

[136] Ernest Sanders, "Rondellus," *The New Grove*, 16: 170ff. Crocker, "Polyphony in England," pp. 688-700.

thirteenth-century conventions. I concede that a ninth resolving onto an octave (over ***ce****li*) is an atypical gesture by any medieval standards; it is no more shocking, though, than the usual twelfth-century gestures of a seventh resolving onto an octave or a second resolving onto a unison. [137] Besides, correction of the upper part would imply a melodic seventh, which is hardly more commendable; and to correct the lower part, we should have to admit that the copyist could mistake repeated notes for descending motion – an unlikely assumption. On *celi*, a perfect fifth seems of course to be preferable to a minor sixth; but we have no reason to assume that in this style the minor sixth was viewed as a particularly dissonant sonority, especially when, as will be shortly seen, it may occupy a weak rhythmic position. The temptation to correct the music as it was handed down to us may prove difficult to resist, but fear of arbitrary, anachronistic editing should restrain our obeying primitive, historically blind musicological impulses.

One could object that copying errors are indeed possible, or that the act of notating a simple piece was secondary – useful mostly as a mnemonic device or a symbolic statement. The problem here is that copying errors can not be identified on the basis of the overall style of the piece, nor can a more plausible version be recovered as an hypothetical improvisatory model unless we allow ourselves to ignore a substantial portion of the original notation. I assume that historical musicology is about understanding music in its context, not about fitting the evidence into preconceived moulds. I therefore prefer to leave the music as it stands.

IV. 1. 2. *Notation*

The piece is written in square notation. Although basically standard, with no Cistercian, Lorraine-influenced features, it includes two special forms, of which more will be said below. (See section IV. 3. 5.) A typical graphic feature is the descending stroke at the end of descending ligatures; it seems to be an accidental feature, that is, just a consequence of a

[137] According to Fuller ("Aquitanian Polyphony," 288), the rationale behind the seventh and the second seems to be their dissonant sound and the added impact that they give to the subsequent perfect consonance. The same rationale would justify the ninth. See also Jacques Handschin's commentary on the question of appoggiatura in "The Summer Canon and Its Background," *Musica Disciplina* III (1949), 55-94, V (1951), 108ff., reprinted in *The Garland Library*, 152ff.

writing habit. The enlarged punctum with short descending strokes on each side is not a plica proper. In the Arouca antiphoner, an addition on ff. 15-22 uses the same sign in several chants for the vigils of the *solemnitatis sacramenti altaris*; comparison with these chants in Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Ill. 115, ff. 228r and following reveals that it consistently stands for a single note. The plica proper has a normal head with two parallel, medium-sized descending strokes, or a slanted head with a longer stroke on the right. Its meaning is made clear by the voice-exchange over the third line (the plica on ***ma**ter* is replaced by a clivis on *eccle**si**a*). The plica is used, however, as a graphic abbreviation, not as a liquescence sign: it appears before the consonants c, d, g and t, before the vowel o and even within the vowel e; only twice does it precede an l. No wonder then that it sometimes carries the consonant interval.

IV. 2. *Part-alignment*

The transcription follows the traditional method of alignment, giving each syllable a neume in each part, with simultaneous attack. Alternative approaches have been proposed by some scholars. [138] A recent book by Theodore Karp on twelfth-century polyphony reopens the question; among its merits, one can hardly deny that of encouraging musicologists to strengthen, by reasoned argument, their assumptions, or else let them be defied. A full discussion of the subject can not be offered here; I will merely bring forward some evidence in the Cistercian gradual Oxford, Bodleian Lat. lit. d.5 that speaks in favor of the traditional method of part-alignment in texted discant.

"Nicholai sollempnia" (Example 3 above) was copied by an early thirteenth-century hand; later in the century or shortly thereafter, someone revised it in order to eliminate imperfect consonances and dissonances. Thus, where we could originally find seven thirds, seven major seconds, six fifths, five sixths, four minor seconds, four unisons, one fourth, one passing minor seventh and one octave, the revisor offers us fifteen fifths, seven unisons, three octaves, one fourth and one third. Four unisons, two fifths and one second were left untouched. In the early version, there were as many major seconds as perfect fifths and unisons (8), closely followed

[138] To the authors mentioned by Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, pp. 29f., we can add Anselm Hughes, due to his transcription of "Congaudeant catholici" in Abraham, ed., *The History of Music in Sound*, p. 39.

by thirds (7) and sixths (5); half of the major seconds functioned as appoggiaturas. In the revised version, seconds, thirds and sixths were virtually eliminated.

It is no surprise that someone felt that the early version was harmonically unsatisfactory. Two places are especially interesting: the simultaneities over the second and third "gaude." There, according to the early version of the piece, we can find a single note against a binary or a ternary ligature; in both ligatures, the first note forms a dissonance with the corresponding single note, and the last, a consonance. If, with Theodore Karp, one reasons that the initial note of each ligature represents a point of rhythmic instability and the final note a point of repose and that therefore only the latter note is to coincide with the *nota simplex*, [139] there would be no dissonance to correct. If there had been no dissonance to correct, the revisor would probably have left the early version as it was. The implication is that the traditional method of part-alignment postulated by most musicologists was already taken for granted less than a century after "Nicholai sollempnia" was notated.

IV. 3. *Rhythm*

IV.3.1. *General approach*

There is no straightforward approach to rhythm even in a piece as simple as "Exultat celi curia." Gregorian chant conventions could be speculatively postulated for the early thirteenth century in Cistercian monasteries, but this would not tell us how to accommodate simultaneities when the two parts do not have the same number of notes per syllable; a set of rules would have to be formulated from elsewhere. We could alternatively project modal rhythm onto the piece, choosing, say, third mode with some *fractio* and *extensio modi*; but it is very unlikely, from both an historical and a stylistic point of view, that this hymn has anything to do with contemporary Notre-Dame practice. Finally, we could take poetic isosyllabism as a cue and postulate an isosyllabic rhythmic framework for the music. There is, however, no one-way correspondence between text and music; it also works the other way round.

The simplest thing to do would be to leave the hymn without any rhythmic interpretation, transcribing it with unstemmed black note-heads

[139] Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, pp. 19 ff.

and trusting the performer to find a possible rhythmic solution. Experience tells me, however, that performers usually have a very limited time to work out plausible solutions, and are seldom trained to recognize, collect, and bring together into a coherent solution all the relevant evidence. [140] The very fact that we are dealing here with a single short composition makes it feasible to take up the challenge of building up a rhythmic solution out of the tiny scraps of evidence available to us. To do so, I will discuss in the following all the rhythmic clues that, as far as I can see, are provided by the music and its notation. I will start with consonances (which are likely to have been given a privileged treatment, either by way of accent or duration) [141] and proceed with the distribution of ligatures and musical notation.

IV. 3. 2. *Consonances*

The most we can derive from the distribution of the intervals present in the piece (their relative frequency and location) is that the fifth, and the fifth alone, stands out as a rhythmic marker. The major or minor third, the perfect fourth and the minor sixth are allowed to stand on their own, and can not be regarded just as passing or pre-cadential sonorities; this is especially true of the third and the fourth, which together account for almost half of the intervals found. The unison, being irregularly used throughout the piece, can not be assumed to play alone a rhythmic role. The same applies to the octave, which occurs only twice, in different contexts (once after a dissonance, once as the goal of a three-note progression). On the contrary, the fifth always ends the phrases, marks the rhymes and seems therefore to imply a rhythmic pause. This is, however, meagre information. If we were to take consonances alone as our guide to rhythm in actual performance, we would have serious difficulties to establish it.

[140] This is just a statement of fact; there are, of course, exceptions. I hope that my own performing group may be counted among these.

[141] The association between consonance and relatively long duration is especially clear in the writings of the Lafage Anonymous (cf. Seay, "An anonymous treatise," 35f.) and Johannes de Garlandia (cf. Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia*, p. 89). See also Willi Apel, "From St. Martial to Notre Dame," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* II (1949), 145-58; and Ernest H. Sanders, "Consonance and Rhythm in the Organum of the 12th and 13th Centuries," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXIII (1980), 264-86.

An additional rhythmical clue is provided by the voice-exchange (a "musical cross") which occurs, not surprisingly, on the third line, with the words *Sancta mater ecclesia*. It requires rhythmical equivalence between the two members that together form the phrase. Again, this alone is not of much help.

IV. 3. 3 *Ligatures*

Fortunately, the distribution of ligatures provides us with further clues. In the analysis and transcription of contemporary secular monody, the concentration of notes over certain syllables has proved to be an important index of metrical regularity or irregularity. It is likely that more singing time was allowed over those syllables that clearly present more notes than the preceding ones. In the Arouca discant, a contrast in density is provided by the presence of eleven ternary ligatures (as opposed to single notes, plicas and *binariae*), since all of them, except the last, follow a single note, and have correspondences in the opposite voice of two or more notes.

The important thing to note is that their distribution follows a regular pattern almost until the end: *Exultat celi curia Festivo leta gaudio. Sancta mater ecclesia Sancto congaudet filio*. This should be compared with the accentual pattern of the verse: *Exultat celi curia Festivo leta gaudio. Sancta mater ecclesia Sancto congaudet filio* (secondary accents on the last syllable of each line should be also taken into account). In the first distich, there is total coincidence between the ternary ligatures and the accented syllables; the first syllable of *celi* does not have a ternary ligature, but it receives nonetheless a musical accent through acuity, since the upper voice jumps an octave to sing it (thus symbolizing "heaven"). This strongly suggests that the music follows, accentually and rhythmically, the iambic pattern that runs through the two initial lines (and the initial line of the first four stanzas), representing it as a succession of contrasting short (unaccented) / long (accented) syllabic values.

At the beginning of the second distich, however, the neumatic articulation stresses not the accented syllable, which receives a single attack, but the next, with ternary ligatures in both voices. This is exactly what would happen if one kept repeating the previously established rhythmic pattern; it may therefore be a symptom of a musical pattern overriding the word-accent. In context, this means that the short-long succession found in the first distich also applies to the second. The ternary ligatures at *ecclesia* and *filio* are in accordance with this hypothesis. Only in *filio* one

finds an exception, which, in the ecclesiastical tradition, is musically justifiable by the penultimate position of the syllable. [142] Last but not least, although iambic rhythm is contrary to the first word-accent of the third and fourth lines of the initial stanzas, it is confirmed by the fact that the two perfect consonances occurring at the beginning of the phrase (an octave and an unison) fall on Sanc**ta** ma**ter**, not **Sanc**ta **ma**ter, as word-accent would require.

IV. 3. 4. *Notation*

Finally, the notation itself is sometimes suggestive. First, two of the descending *ternariae* look like a virga with its head to the right attached to a clivis. In one case, the initial and final consonances are the same, but the lower voice has a clivis with a plica on the second note, which in a normal harmonic context would imply the division of the rhythmic value corresponding to the last note. In the second case, the first note forms with the lower voice a fuller consonance than that provided by the last; the opposite occurs in the two remaining descending *ternariae*. The conclusion is that the normal way to perform a *ternaria*, giving the third note a longer duration, [143] does not apply when the copyist chooses to single out the first note by attaching it to a clivis on the right in order to bring into relief the initial consonance. This kind of notational modification has its roots in Aquitanian notational practice as found in polyphonic sources of the St. Martial school. We owe to Robert Snow the remark that some special signs were sometimes used to signify that the first rather than the second of two pitches is consonant with the lower part; [144] Theodore Karp has reached a similar conclusion. [145]

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[142] Nancy Phillips and Michel Huglo, "Le *De musica* de saint Augustin et l'organisation de la durée musicale du IXe au XIIe siècles," *Recherches Augustiniennes* XX (1985), 123. Besides the *Scolica enchiriadis* treatise discussed by Phillips and Huglo, the traditional lenghthening of the penultimate note is also echoed in thirteenth century teaching, for instance in the treatises of Johannes de Garlandia, Franco, the St. Emmeram Anonymous, and Anonymous IV.

[143] In the Cambridge songbook, f. 3v ("Flos floriger"), the copyist twice took care to indicate that when a ternary descending ligature in the upper voice is matched by a binary ascending ligature in the lower converging into a final unison, the first note of the *binaria* corresponds to the two first notes of the *ternaria*. There are precedents for this in Gregorian chant, and thirteenth century mensural notation continues the trend.

[144] Robert J. Snow, "The History of Medieval Music: Are all our Premises

Another clue is provided by the special *punctum* with flattened head and very short descending strokes on each side, a shape similar to a plica, except that the head does not have a round upper right corner, has a rectangular shape, and the strokes are minimal. It occurs three times. This would remain a mysterious sign were it not for two facts. First, in the early thirteenth-century bifolios attached to the Cistercian Gradual Oxford, Bodleian Lat. lit. d.5, the organum *Catholicorum concio* (Transcription 3) uses an equivalent sign in the upper voice at special harmonic points (perfect consonances, with the exception of a penultimate syllable, at internal or final cadences, and the rather solemn word ***sollempnio***); these signs, which seem to imply a *ritardando* or a warning not to hurry up, are reproduced above our transcription. Secondly, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an equivalent shape is used in the sense of a fermata or of a double note in Iberian sources, and is referred to by Spanish chant theorists as a traditional notational sign for a long. [146] Here, it is found over a penultimate syllable twice, and over a final syllable once. It probably indicates that the note is to be sustained (slightly retarded or clearly lengthened, depending on the context).

The copyist also cared to tell us, in no ambiguous terms (see Example 1) that the last note of the composition is two beats long, [147] which indirectly confirms the measured character of the whole composition. This character should not be considered abnormal. Firstly, we are dealing here with a hymn, a strophic song perhaps of a popular character, very different from elaborate Gregorian chant. [148] Secondly, in the Cistercian tradition,

Correct?", The Sixth Gordon Athol Anderson Memorial Lecture delivered at the University of New England, Armidale, on 25th August, 1988, 26 (Illustration II). This paper dates largely from 1969-1970. The illustration compares signs in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3549 and London, British Library, Add. 36881.

[145] Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint-Martial*, pp. 140-43 (on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 3549 and 3719). Karp's book was mostly written between 1967 and 1979.

[146] See Bartolomé Molina's *Arte de Canto Llano llamado Lux Videntis*(1503) and Aguilar's *Arte de Principios de Canto Llano* (published between 1530 and 1537, according to León Tello, "Aguilar, Gaspar de," *The New Grove*, 1: 169); both treatises are quoted by Celso Abad Amor, "Los signos en el canto llano," *Estudios sobre los teoricos españoles de canto gregoriano de los siglos XV al XVIII* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1980), pp. 204, 236. See also from the present author, "As Origens do Gradual de Braga," *Didaskalia* XXV (1995), 59f.

[147] The value of the *maxima caudata* is indicated by the number of strokes crossing it. Cf. Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2: 46, 47n.

[148] Gregorian chant may of course be regarded, in a sense, as non-precisely measured

the hymns were mostly of Milanese (Ambrosian) origin and had been taken directly from the Milanese tradition; this they did with utmost care, so that their purity would be unspotted. [149] Ambrose had a clear predilection in his hymnal for iambic dimeter and, for at least a few of his texts, the musical performance is likely to have adopted iambic rhythm; [150] the earliest hint revealing this is found in the Cistercians' favorite philosopher, St. Augustine. [151]

IV. 3. 5 *Conclusion*

If we put aside general theories about how medieval discant should sound, and take into consideration instead the rhythmic information provided by the very source dealt with, we should be able to reduce as far as possible arbitrary decisions taken in musical transcription and performance. The measured transcription offered here, although hypothetical, attempts to put together all the relevant evidence. It is primarily a result of the above analytical reasoning, and as such, is meant to invite a deeper understanding of the music and of the circumstances of its birth. The

music. The old opposition between mensuralists and Solesmians has been bridged, as Robert Snow first pointed out in his paper "The Notation of Durational Values in Gregorian Chant" (photocopied text, ca. 1965), by the work of Eugène Cardine and the "semiological school" stemming from it. This has happened so far only through research and performance practice. The direct followers of the mensuralist school have been slow to admit the full range of durational values implied, or allowed, by the St.Gall/Laon neumes and their diverse performing contexts. The "semiological school," faithful to a century-old ideological framework inherited from Solesmes, has so far resisted acknowledging the theoretical implications of contrasting "ornamental" and "structural" notes or – according to their Solesmian terminology – "syllabic values." A preliminary step in the direction of an unified rhythmic theory of Gregorian chant can be found in Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Bases for Transcription: Gregorian Chant and the Notation of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," *Los instrumentos del Pórtico de la Gloria. Su reconstrucción y la música de su tiempo*, José López-Calo, ed. (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1993), 2: 595-621.

[149] Waddell, *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal*, pp. 18-22, 88-96.

[150] Dom Gregory Murray, *Gregorian Rhythm in the Gregorian Centuries: The Literary Evidence* (Downside Abbey, Bath, n.d.), pp. 3ff. Bryan Gillingham, *Modal Rhythm* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986), pp. 46-50, 108.

[151] St. Augustine, *De musica* VI, 2, 2-5, cited in Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz, *Historia de la estética, II. La estética medieval* (Madrid: Ed. Akal, 1989), p. 67. On the close relationship between the Cistercian aesthetics and that of St. Augustine, see ibid, pp. 194-201.

diplomatic transcription will be always there to invite alternative interpretations.

One thing I wish to reaffirm: musicological scholarship will be suspect if it cannot make musical sense of the data upon which it rests. May the challenge of faithful, coherent, and singable musicological solutions inspire others to pursue the analysis and discussion of problematic, yet historically significant layers of medieval polyphony.